"Destitution in the UK 2020" - Technical Report

‘DESTITUTION IN THE UK 2020’ - TECHNICAL REPORT

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This report accompanies the research report by Fitzpatrick et al (2020) ***Destitution in the UK 2020*** published by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation in December 2020, which examines the scale, nature and drivers of destitution in the UK in 2019-2020, updating similar studies undertaken in 2015-16 and 2017-18.

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Contents

1. Introduction and Overview

This Technical Report is part of the output of a major research study of *Destitution in the UK 2020* undertaken during 2019-20 by the authors and colleagues[1] for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) and the Greater London Authority. It complements the main research report published by JRF in November 2020 (Fitzpatrick et al 2020) and previous reports in this series (Fitzpatrick et al 2015, 2016, 2018).

The timing of the quantitative phase of this research predated the Covid-19 emergency, with fieldwork undertaken in October-November 2019 and secondary data analysis focusing on years up to 2019-20. However, the qualitative follow-up interview part of the research happened after the Covid-19 lockdown, through the early summer of 2020, and was redesigned to focus additionally on how households, who had been destitute the previous autumn, were coping with lockdown conditions and changes, while retaining some focus on their prior background experiences.

This Technical Report contains a detailed account of the main elements of the research, including the Census Survey, the updated Secondary Data analyses and the Qualitative Interviews. This includes Appendices including all the main research instruments and accompanying protocols.

While the main emphasis is on explaining methods and providing detailed information on key instruments and elements of the research, in some cases more detailed substantive findings are reported, as for example in section 3.1 on Time Trends and section 5 Geography of Destitution.

[1] In 2019-20 the research was undertaken by a team at the Institute for Social Policy, Housing and Equalities Research (I-SPHERE) in the School of Energy, Geosciences, Infrastructure and Society at Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, working in partnership with Kantar Public, who took primary responsibility for the 'census' survey testing, fieldwork and data preparation.

BOX 1: DEFINITION OF DESTITUTION

1. People are destitute if they have lacked two or more of these six essentials over the past month, because they cannot afford them:

- ***Shelter*** (have slept rough for one or more nights)
- ***Food*** (have had fewer than two meals a day for two or more days)
- ***Heating*** their home (have been unable to do this for five or more days)
- ***Lighting*** their home (have been unable to do this for five or more days)
- ***Clothing and footwear*** (appropriate for weather)
- ***Basic toiletries*** (soap, shampoo, toothpaste, toothbrush)

Additional checks are included that the reason for going without these essential items is that respondents *cannot afford* them:

- The wording of the items includes phrasing such as 'because you could not afford to buy…' or 'were unable to buy ..'; or 'not being able to afford…' [2]
- In the analysis we check that their income is below the standard relative poverty line (i.e. 60% of median income 'after housing costs' for the relevant household size, approximated using banded data);
- Reference to the question on savings that they have no or negligible savings (less than a month's income allowance, allowing for household composition, approximated using banded data) .

2. People are also destitute, even if have not as yet gone without these six essentials, if their income is so low that they are unable to purchase these essentials for themselves.

The relevant weekly income thresholds, after housing costs, are £70 for a single adult, £95 for a lone parent with one child, £105 for a couple, and £145 for a couple with two children, with consistent values for other household compositions. We also check that they have insufficient savings to make up for the income shortfall.

This definition is essentially unchanged from 2015. There was clear agreement with the key deprivation items in 2015, among both advisory group experts and public respondents the Omnibus survey carried out then. With regard to the income threshold, this was reviewed in 2019, leading to minor increases in the figures for most household groups, the details being given in Appendix A.

2. Census Survey

Reasons for carrying out a census-type survey of users of a range of relevant types of service in case study areas were discussed in an earlier Technical Report (Bramley et al 2016, s.3). As was successfully demonstrated in 2015, this provided direct evidence of contemporary destitution experiences, using a specific agreed definition (see Box 1

[2] The only exception being the rough sleeping item.

above), in different types of areas across UK, while also providing a pool of households who could participate in the more in-depth qualitative phase of the research.

The study was conducted in 18 Case Study Areas, normally comprised of a whole local authority area, or in two cases approximately half of a larger unitary authority. These authorities comprised 14 from England, 2 from Scotland and 1 each from Wales and Northern Ireland. Ten of these 18 had participated in both 2015 and 2017 surveys, 6 additional authorities had participated in 2017, while two further London boroughs (making four in total) were added in 2019.

The main focus remains on non-governmental organisations providing material assistance or associated advice and support to people in emergency situations of need. We defined a range of types of relevant organisation, in four broad types: advice; food and meals; homelessness and related multiple deprivations (including specific issues of domestic violence[3]) migrants (and associated issues like forced labour). The research team worked with local coordinators (LCs) to identify and map all relevant organisations, their locations, contacts and scale of operation (in broad bands). This formed the sampling frame. The previous 16 case study areas (10 from 2015 plus 6 from 2017) were retained and in these cases LCs updated the mapping of agencies, while for the two new areas introduced in London in 2019 we recruited new LCs who undertook mapping from scratch.

The criteria for selection of case study areas (CSAs) in previous rounds of the study were discussed and described in detail in previous Technical Reports (particularly Bramley et al 2018, Appendix D). The only change in 2019-20 was that, with the Greater London Authority (GLA) becoming involved in supporting the study, there was a wish to strengthen the evidence base in relation to Greater London, by including additional boroughs which would help to represent the wide range of variation within the capital. The two additional boroughs were chosen after inspection of a range of relevant secondary data, but they are seen to represent a 'central' borough on the northern side (Camden) and an outer borough on the southern side (Bexley), to complement the inner/deprived borough to the East (Newham) and the middle/outer borough to the West (Ealing) in the existing sample.

As in 2017 we did include the one local government service which is most directly relevant to destitution (Local Welfare Assistance Funds or LWAF for short), either directly where it existed and agreed to participate, or indirectly through FOI-based information on numbers of clients. While these services are discretionary and variable in England, in the devolved countries there are national schemes in operation, although in Scotland this is administered by the local authorities. These were included on the same basis. For other local and statutory services, we did not attempt to include them, partly due to issues of ethics and access, and partly because, on the whole, we

[3] Domestic violence and abuse can be a specific trigger to sudden loss of income/resource and often the family home, and specific services particularly refuges have developed to support victims, which were included in our sampling frame

would not have expected such a high proportion of their clients to be destitute. We considered whether there might be a case for including the statutory homelessness service in the survey in 2018, following the introduction of the Homelessness Reduction Act 2017, but decided not to do so for the above reasons. Experience in the field suggests that local authorities operating that (and similar) services often commission or refer to local third sector organisations to support service users who have additional needs relating to income, welfare, debt, food or complex needs. Other services where such referrals might originate include childrens' social care/work, adult social care, and educational welfare.

The underlying assumption is that people in a situation of destitution will seek out assistance from time to time. This is a conservative assumption; if some destitute people approach none of the organisations we have sampled, our estimates will be on the low side. We take a time slice of one week[4] (in October or early November 2019), with questions focused on experiences of destitution in the preceding month. The timing was expected to avoid seasonal extremes. As part of the work with secondary indicators, we used a monthly set of relevant indicators to check that, over the last decade, there was not a significant seasonal difference between March-April and October-November.

Questionnaire development and testing

The questionnaire (shown in Appendix B) was designed for self-completion, assisted as necessary by a member of the research team (normally a professional social survey interviewer from Kantar Public). It should be noted that, although we refer to it here as the Destitution Survey, it was headed and introduced as 'Getting By in the UK'. Questions were set to enable application of the definition of destitution described and justified in the 2015 Interim Report (reproduced in Box 1 above). Additional questions aimed to capture basic demographics, key background experiences over the preceding year which may have contributed to destitution, sources of support (financial and in-kind), and migration/asylum status where relevant. Questions also covered frequency of use of the service in question, and use of other services, partly to aid quantification of destitution experiences over the whole year. Additional questions were had been included in 2017 on where respondents were currently living, housing tenure and hostel stay durations, and these are retained (they also facilitate very useful analysis of homelessness issues).

[4] In a couple of cases of specific services, for various practical reasons, the survey was conducted in a different adjacent week, or over two weeks. For future consideration, if repeating this survey, we would recommend extending to more than one week for certain types of lower intensity service, including some Local Welfare Funds.

With a priority on stability and to enable comparison between years, the questionnaire has not been changed much from 2017. Just three additional questions, or categories within a question, were added:

> Q3. Are you receiving or have you applied for Universal Credit payments?
>
> Yes / No / Don't Know.
>
> Q9. Additional category of experience in the last 12 months of 'Applying to the council as homeless or being threatened with homelessness', plus minor wording change on other categories.
>
> Q10. Are your day-to-day activities limited because of a health problem or disability which has lasted, or is expected to last, at least 12 months? (*include problems related to old age)*
>
> Yes, limited a lot / Yes, limited a little/ No

The self-completion model places limits on the extent to which sensitive information can be probed, or the level of detail on matters like income which could be practicably collected. Questionnaires were translated into 24 languages identified by local coordinators and participating services as likely to crop up in case study areas.

Conduct of Census Survey

Census surveys were normally conducted over periods of one week, with the research team attempting to ensure coverage of all relevant clients using the services during that period, either by ensuring presence during service opening hours or by securing the agreement of the services to ask and assist their clients to complete census forms (more common in some advice services and sensitive services e.g. responding to domestic violence). Packs of questionnaires and associated instructions were delivered by registered post in the preceding week and either collected at the end of the week by the local coordinators or research team members for mailing back, or, in most cases, mailed back directly to Kantar by the Kantar interviewers or the service themselves. Detailed protocol for the conduct of the census survey fieldwork and associated documentation provided to participating agencies are reproduced in Appendix D. The research team attempted to obtain accurate numbers of unique clients in scope using the service during the week, although in a few cases these numbers were approximate estimates. The questionnaires were designed for machine scanning with manual checking and editing only required in a minority of cases.

In addition to the survey questions about frequency of use of other services, the instructions to services/interviewers included the points that (a) anyone who had already completed the questionnaire at another service or on another day should not complete it again and (b) anyone who had already been asked to do the survey at another service should be recorded on a tally sheet. The purpose of (b) was to avoid double-counting in the figures for 'total service users per week'. .In practice, (b) was not consistently followed in all services in the sample; a large proportion did return a tally sheet with some positive numbers, but for many services the entry was zero. Across the 18 areas the number of cases 'tallied' for having been asked in another service was 331, compared with the estimate of 6533 total weekly users of sampled services (i.e. 5%). These tallied duplicates were removed from the service total users denominator when calculating the adjusted response weight.

Sampling Areas

For the original 10 case study areas used in 2015, these were selected in a purposive fashion, in order to represent a variety of localities across the UK with different urban-rural character and mix, different levels of poverty/deprivation (based on secondary data analysis), and different degrees of presence of migrant groups including asylum seekers and new EU migrants. A short list of candidate areas in different categories was assembled, with final choice based partly on our ability to identify and recruit local coordinators. All case study localities were defined as whole local authority areas, and in all original ten cases these were under unitary local authority government, although in the case of Wiltshire the survey was conducted in only two of the former constituent districts (Salisbury and West Wiltshire) to keep travelling manageable.

The original 10 areas were: Glasgow, Bournemouth, Ealing, Fife, Newham, Nottingham, Peterborough, Swansea, Wiltshire, Belfast.

For extending this sample of areas in 2017, an analysis of the secondary indicator dataset compiled in 2015 (partially updated) was used to identify types of area which were under-represented in the original set. Since we already had two Scottish, one Welsh and one Northern Irish case, this exercise was confined to England, boosting the number of CSAs there from six to eleven. This exercise is described in detail in Bramley et al 2018, Appendix D.

The outcome was to add the following six areas to the study: Cheshire West and Chester; County Durham (3 former districts comprising about half the population); East Hertfordshire and North Hertfordshire Districts; Herefordshire UA; Kirklees MD; Lewes and Rother Districts in East Sussex. Two of these cases were drawn from the areas of England with two-tier local government structure ('shire counties), and in these cases (Hertfordshire and East Sussex) we selected a subset of two adjacent districts with similar characteristics.

Appendix D in Bramley et al 2018 demonstrated that, taken together with the original case study areas, this provided a reasonably balanced representation of Great Britain in terms of (a) predicted level and mix of destitution, (b) representation of the main types of local authority as per ONS classification, and (c) representation of English regions.

The rationale for and choice of two additional London boroughs to the set of areas included in the survey in 2019 was given earlier in this section (p.5).

Sampling Agencies

In each case study area, the initial mapping exercise produced a list of agencies/services which were classified by the four main categories (advice; food (hot food/foodbank); homelessness and related; and migrant-oriented) and by a broad size grouping (large/medium/small, based on indicative thresholds of 25 and 100 users per week) based on initial information on typical numbers of clients per week. Very small services in this sense (clearly less than 10 users per week) were excluded on 'de minimis' grounds. In 2017, the original 10 case study areas, Local Coordinators working with a member of the research team were asked to update the original mapping of services to identify changes since 2015, including new services or services which appeared to have closed down or changed their scale of operation, while new maps were created for the 6 new areas. Again, in 2019, the maps were updated again by LCs working with the designated researcher for each area, with new maps created for the two additional London boroughs.

The original sample for each area when first included was drawn as follows. A sample of 6-8 of these services was then drawn, to achieve target numbers of 1-2 services in each category, with probability of selection being set at a higher level for 'large'

services[5]. Services were listed by category, size group, and then in alphabetical name order, and the sample (first choices) was drawn using the appropriate sampling interval starting on a random number within this. Where first choice services would not agree to cooperate, a second choice was used, normally the next listed service (or, if the first choice was last in its group, the previous one). From this sampling process, we know the probability of selection of each included service.

In the original ten case study areas, we had a preference to continue to use the originally sampled services from 2015, wherever possible, partly to facilitate access and briefing in 2017 and partly to give a more robust picture of changes in numbers and profile over that two-year period. Again, in 2019 we followed the same preference to use the same services where possible. Nevertheless, in both years there were a minority of cases where this was not possible, because the service had closed or changed in some way, or owing to particular pressures in survey week could not participate again. For these, we sought replacements from within the updated map of 'in-scope' services, following the same general principles as used in the initial sample selection (i.e. replacing so far as possible with a similar category and size of service). An important robustness check on the research findings, particularly when measuring change between 2017 and 2019, is the ability to select just those services which were effectively the same in both years (just under three-quarters of the 2017 set).

In 2019, when establishing the two additional London borough case studies, some difficulties were encountered in fully clarifying the map of services which were operational and in scope, and then recruiting services willing to participate. This was particularly the case in Camden[6]. After examining the returns from the survey for this case study area we decided to reclassify three of the services in terms of their size, two from large to med/small, and one from med/small to large, based on finding that our original 'mapping; information on size was wrong for these services. This led to a consequential adjustment in their probability of selection which feeds into the weight used to gross up from the sample to Camden as a whole. After examining the results in terms of destitute numbers by main grouping (migrant, complex need, other UK), we applied a further adjustment to the headline numbers calculation, to make the distribution in Camden between the main groups more similar to that in the other London cases. This is an example of using judgement in a case of an outlying observation, to apply a degree of shrinkage towards the relevant group mean in terms of case mix, which was seen to be justifiable given the circumstances of this new case study area.

[5] In a few less populous areas with few if any Large services, the dividing line was drawn between Large or Medium and Small.

[6] Camden posed more difficulties because it was a new case study area established at relatively short notice, because there appeared to be more recent change in service status there, and because as a dense central borough there was more uncertainty about the inclusion of certain services which served several adjacent boroughs and/or were very close to the borough boundary.

In 2015, we did not include Local Welfare Assistance Funds (LWAF) in the survey, but attempted to obtain data on their overall numbers and comment on how much difference, in broad brush terms, including them would have made to our figures. In 2017 we did try to include them, with generally more success in the new case study areas than in the existing ones. Thus in six CSAs the LWAFs were included as additional services with a proportion of their clients completing questionnaires, while in one of the original CSAs LWAF users completed the first page of the form only. In the remaining cases they were not included, in some instances because there was no such service as a separate entity. In virtually all of these cases we were able to make a numerical estimate of their relevant caseload based on FOI requests or other sources. A similar approach was followed in 2019, but in this case only 4 LWAFs participated in the survey. In one case the service had closed after 2017, while in another it was still operating but unable to participate. Where LWAFs were still operating, even if not in the survey, we obtained data on their relevant caseloads by direct correspondence or FOI. This is used in calculating overall destitution numbers (given the evidence from those who did participate that c.85% of their relevant clients were destitute). In several cases LWAFs had closed or reduced their scope of operation, while in other cases some had seen increased caseloads.

In section 4 of this report, we report on how local weekly and national annual estimates of numbers of destitute households and individuals were derived. This involves combining information on the sampling, as described above, with information on response within each agency and on number and frequency of visits to other agencies over the past year, as well as linking up to indicators derived from secondary datasets, as described in Section 4.

3. Secondary Data and Change Analysis

In this section we describe updated evidence from a range of national-scale secondary data sources on time trends in factors which may be associated with destitution. This provides a somewhat mixed picture, and we comment on the limitations on some sources which need to be taken into account. We go on to discuss the specific question of the extent of change in destitution in our set of study areas, set against the expectations generated by this set of background information. This discussion leads on to some detailed assessment of factors associated with changes in or limitations of the questionnaire, as well as the agency sampling, which need to be considered when assessing evidence from the survey on change since 2015. This refers primarily to the original 10 case study areas.

The first Technical Report (Bramley et al 2016) went into considerable detail in the analysis of severe poverty in the context of large-scale household surveys and the wider measurement of poverty. Although some time trend evidence was derived, it is difficult in practice to update this, for example because some key questions are not

asked in every wave of one key survey (UKHLS). Therefore we do not discuss this background research further in this year's technical report. This analysis also supported the development of local level indicators of potential severe poverty and destitution, that part of the work has been partially updated, as reported further in the section 3.3 on Predictive Indices and the associated Appendix E.

This previous Technical Report also documented the detailed scoping of secondary datasets carried out in the previous studies. Again, this material is not repeated here.

3.1 Time Trends

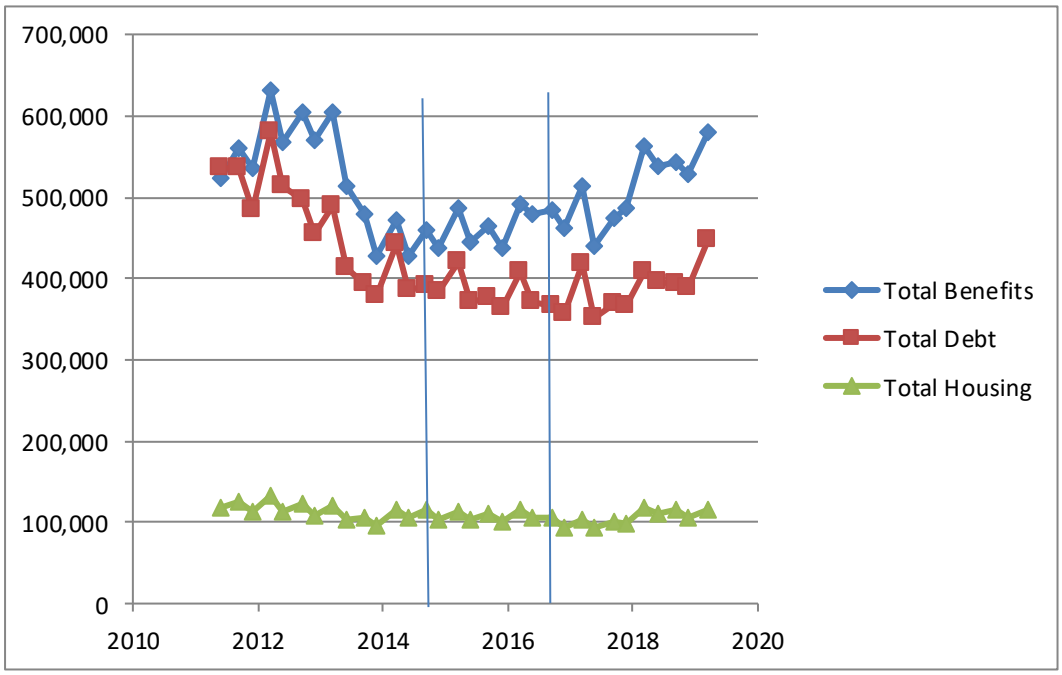
In this section we update some evidence and commentary relating to trends over time in selected secondary data sources, which may be indicative of recent trends in factors potentially associated with the risk or experience of destitution. Each of the data sources used has some limitations and these are noted as appropriate.

Citizens Advice Trends

Data provided by CAB (England) provide a sample of time trend evidence, focussing on categories of particular interest and utilising the fuller detail of the quarterly data. Data originally requested as part of the 2015 study have been updated twice on the same basis by CAB. It should be noted that during the period leading up to 2015, CAB had experienced more limitations on funding, which may have impacted negatively on the total numbers of advice cases they had been able to deal with. We were not aware of any further changes in this respect between 2015 and 2019. However, from 2019 Q2 onwards significant changes were made in the way the data were compiled so these previous time series cannot be extended beyond that point in time.

Figure 3.1.1 looks at trends in broad categories of advice cases. Overall, there was a peak in benefit cases in the period from late 2011 to early 2013. This coincides with the period of implementation of the first wave of benefit reforms of the Coalition government, and the aftermath/recovery from the great recession. There was then a substantial fall in benefit cases in 2013-2014; since then there appears to have been a certain increase in trend, more accentuated in the last two years. Total debt cases have also fallen, from 2012 to to 2014, with relatively little trend after that, until 2018-19 when there appears to have been an increase. Total housing issues are smaller in overall number, and show relatively little trend over this period, but again a slight increase in 2018-18. The vertical lines in the figure show the points in time when the two previous destitution surveys took place.

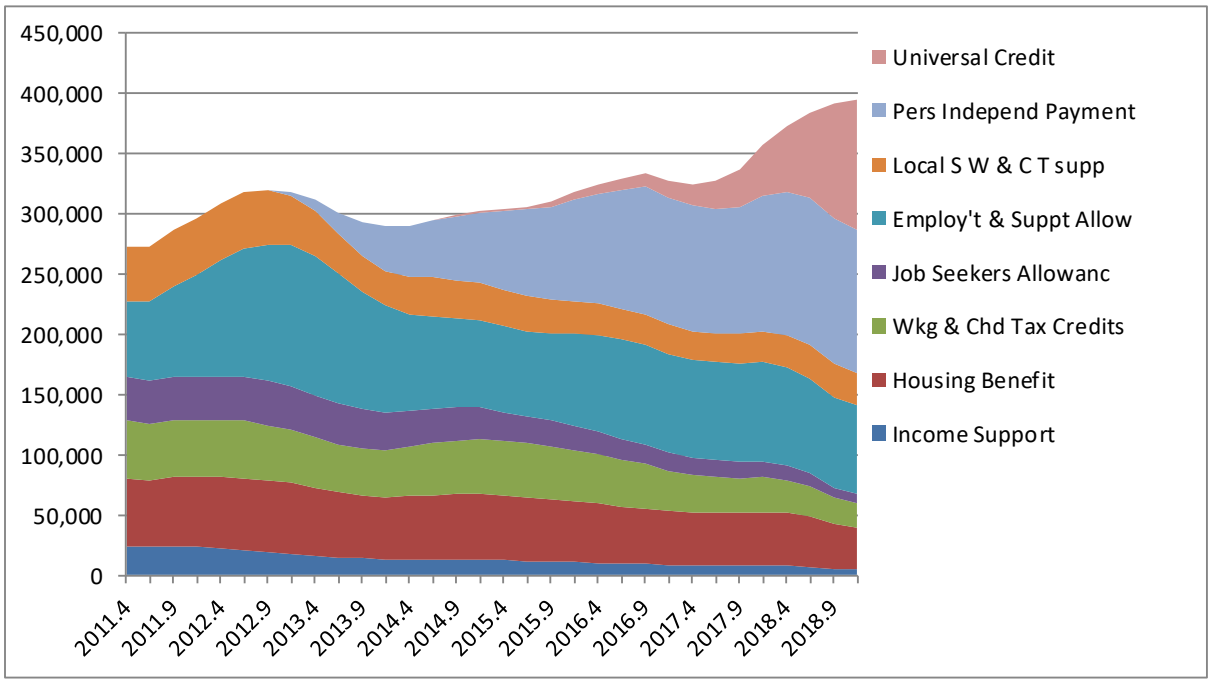
Figure 3.1.1: Trends in Overall Benefit, Debt and Housing Issues, England CAB Network, Quarterly 2011Q2 to 2019Q1



Source: authors' analysis of CAB advice trends data.
Note: This series cannot be continued beyond 2019Q1 owing to changes in recording methods in CAB database

Figure 3.1.2 looks at the composition of the broad benefits category of cases over the period 2011-19. The largest element earlier in this period was ESA, but since 2016 PIP has created a bigger caseload, while in the last two years Universal Credit rapidly rose in importance. Most other benefit categories saw a general decline over this period, partly towards the end due to the transition to UC. Housing Benefit, Tax Credits and Local Social Welfare and Council Tax Support still generate significant caseloads. Over the whole period, the caseload appears to have risen by 45%; this rise took place in three waves, he first (dominated by ESA) in 2011-12, the second (dominated by PIP) up to 2016, and he third (driven by UC) from 2017 to 2019.

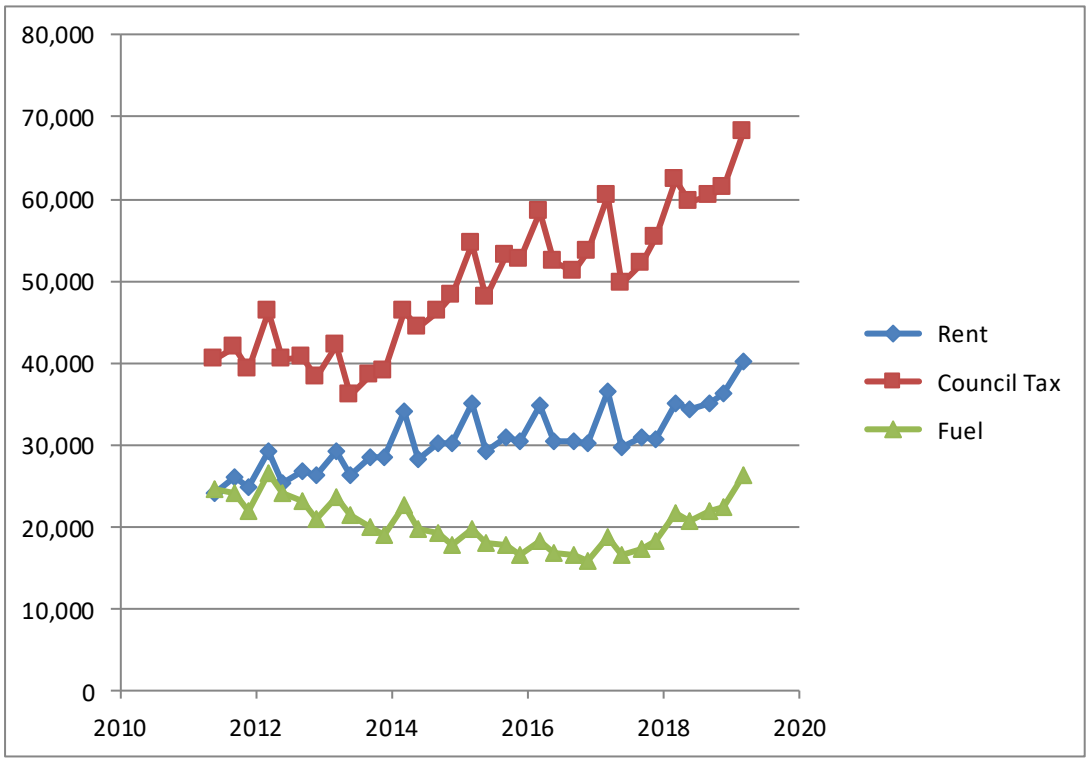
Figure 3.1.2: Trends in Mix of Benefit Issues, England CAB Network, Quarterly 2011Q2 to 2019Q1 (smoothed)



Source: authors' analysis of CAB advice trends data.
Note: 4-quarter moving average. This series cannot be continued beyond 2019Q1 owing to changes in recording methods in CAB database.

Figure 3.1.3 looks at selected debt/arrears issues over time. In general, for the majority of items in this category, including mortgage and consumer debt, the trend in issues has been quite strongly downwards, probably reflecting a period of low interest rates and of UK households tending to try to reduce their levels of indebtedness. However, there are noteworthy rises in two items over the last 5-6 years: rent and Council Tax. The former would reflect the growing importance of private renting, where rents are higher, as well as the social sector, where issues like the bedroom tax and other benefit restrictions were beginning to bite. Rent arrears issues rose by 68% over the whole period. Fuel poverty and energy costs has been a major issue, from the mid-2000s to the early 2010s, and it is noteworthy that fuel debts/arrears were as numerous as rent problems in 2011, but that subsequently fuel has fallen back slightly, while still remaining pretty common. Meanwhile, Council Tax arrears and debt show a sudden increase from late 2013 onwards, continuing up to the last quarter in this series (albeit with a seasonal element). This looks like the impact of localised Council Tax support operating from April 2013, with incomplete support available for working age households in most areas of England after that date (compared with former CTB). Research published by IFS confirms this problem (https://www.ifs.org.uk/comms/r90.pdf). Council tax debt/arrears issues rose by 69% over the whole period.

Figure 3.1.3: Selected Debt/Arrears Issues, England CAB Network, Quarterly 2011Q2 to 2019Q1



Source: authors' analysis of CAB advice trends data.

The CAB debt/arrears issue is somewhat confirmed by data from the organisation StepChange, one of the main providers of debt advice. In 2019 arrears on bills were the second most common type of debt (after credit cards), affecting 52% of their clients with an average amount outstanding of £2137, up £255 (14%) on 2014. Energy bill arrears have become increasingly common, with 17% in arrears on electricity and 13% on gas in 2019, up from 13% and 12% in 20-16. The third most common type of debt was personal loans from family/friends with an average amount of £5,562. The average total of unsecured debt per new client was £14,129, up 8% on 2016[7].

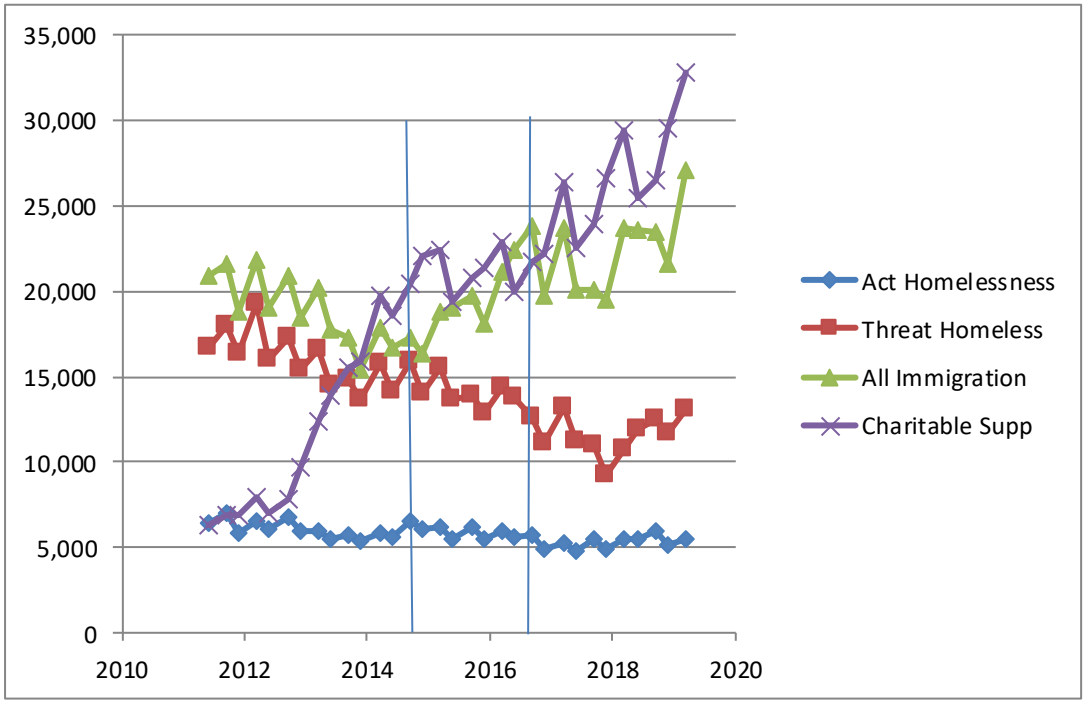
Figure 3.1.4 looks at two indicators of homelessness, as well as migration and charitable support. The homelessness indicators appear to show a slight downward trend, tending to level off in the middle period before rising somewhat in the last two years. In this period, most measures of homelessness (as reviewed in Fitzpatrick et al, 2018) have been increasing in England, so in this case the CAB data do not appear to be consistent. We look at some additional indicators of homelessness below.

The count of all immigration issues was on a declining trend until early 2014, but it has since gone up again significantly. Meanwhile, charitable support (including foodbanks) has shot up from a low level since 2012 to a scale above that of homelessness or

[7] StepChange (2020) *Statistics Yearbook. Personal Debt in the UK January – December 2019.* StepChange Debt Charity www.stepchange.org

migration in the recent period. This is consistent with media coverage and evidence from Trussell Trust on the build-up of foodbank usage (see below).

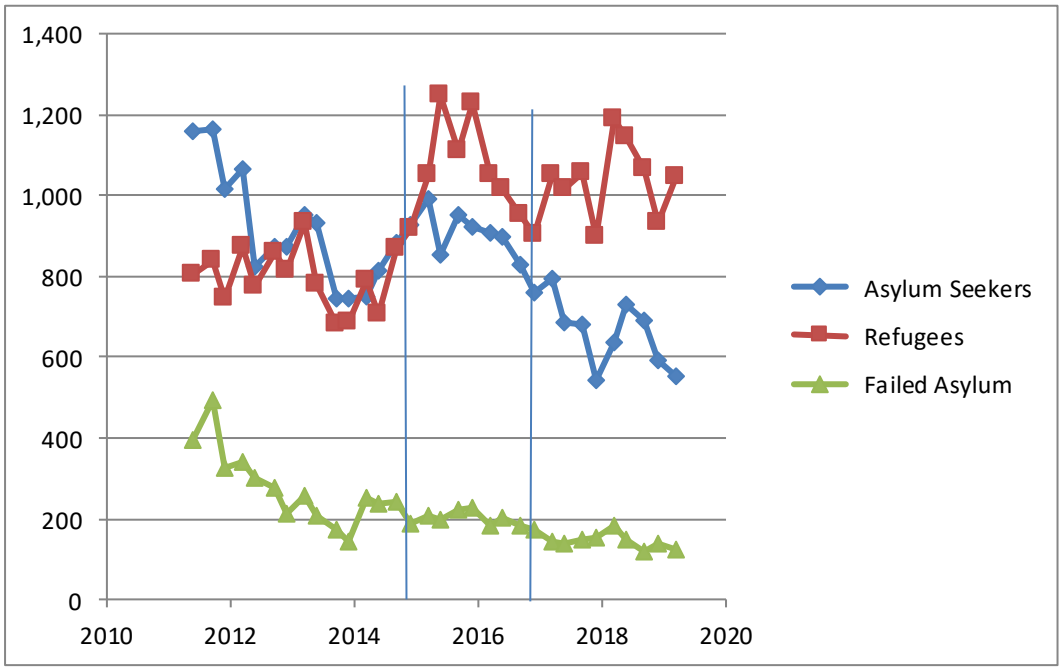
Figure 3.1.4: Homeless, Migration and Charitable Support Issues, England CAB Network, Quarterly 2011Q2 to 2019Q1



Source: authors' analysis of CAB advice trends data.
Note: 'Act'= Actual Homelessness; 'Threat'= Threatened with homelessness

Figure 3.1.5 looks at specific asylum and refugee issues. Asylum-seeker issues at CAB fell somewhat until 2014 but have since risen again, particularly through 2015 and 2016 (Syrian Refugee crisis), with substantial dropping back subsequently, particularly in Asylum through to 2018. The Refugee category has remained higher than earlier in the decade, but with quite a bit of fluctuation. This is consistent with stories from the sector about the problems of transition from asylum to refugee status. There is a somewhat similar pattern associated with the failed asylum seeker category, although with less of a recent rise.

Figure 3.1.5: Specific Asylum and Refugee Issues, England CAB Network, Quarterly 2011Q2 to 2019Q1

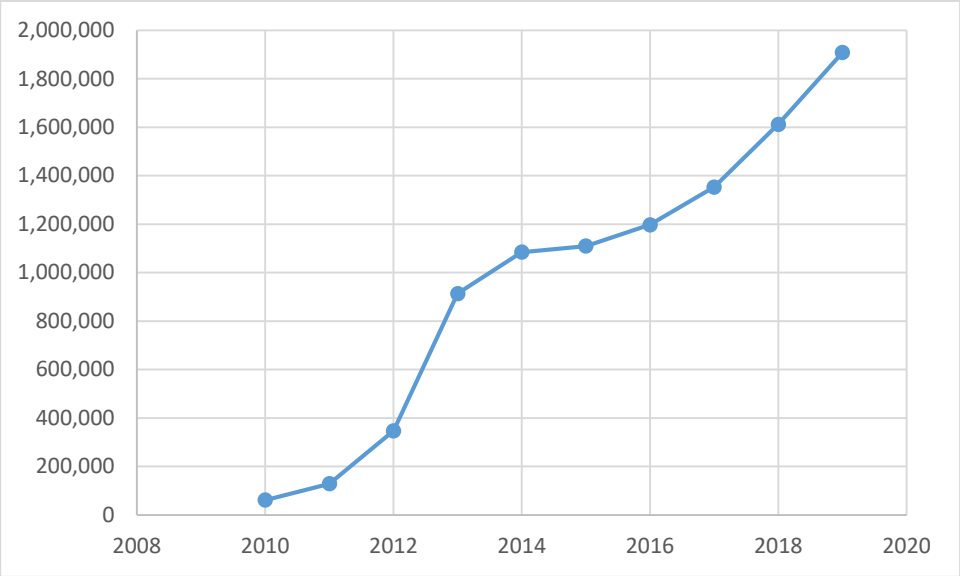


Source: authors' analysis of CAB advice trends data.

Foodbanks

The Trussell Trust (TT) is the largest network of foodbanks in the UK. Figure 3.1.6 shows the spectacular growth in TT foodbank usage, measured by the number of episodes of people being fed annually from 2010 to 2019 financial years. From data on numbers of vouchers per client we estimated that the number of unique users is about 52% of the numbers as shown in Figure 3.12. This means that about 745,000 people received food parcels from TT in 2016/17[8], rising to nearly 1 million in 2019/20. TT appear to have about 63% of the national total 'market' for foodbanks (number of distribution centres).

Figure 3.1.6: Growth in Number of Episodes of People being Fed by Trussell Trust Foodbanks, 2010-2019 (financial years)



Source: Trussell Trust Food Voucher Data .

The growth of TT volumes from small beginnings up to 2008 to approaching a million episodes in 2013 is spectacular, but must reflect a combination of supply and demand factors. TT expanded rapidly, at a time when demand was increasing for a range of reasons (major recession/unemployment/underemployment, welfare reform (both general, and specific measures like the rundown of Social Fund Crisis Loans), increased sanctions (see below)). Other work examines issues of causality in this story[9].

[8] TT appear to have about 63% of the national total 'market' for foodbanks (number of distribution centres).
[9] Loopstra, R., Fledderjohann, J., Reeves, A., & Stuckler, D. (2018). Impact of Welfare Benefit Sanctioning on Food Insecurity: a Dynamic Cross-Area Study of Food Bank Usage in the UK. *Journal of Social Policy*, published online 24 January 2018

It is clear from Figure 3.1.6, that the rate of expansion of TT foodbank usage had slowed right down by 2015, but then gradually accelerated through 2017-19. In this latter period growth has exceeded the growth in food bank distribution centres.

Homelessness Trends

Homelessness is both directly and indirectly relevant to destitution: in its more extreme form, rough sleeping, it constitutes one of our definitional criteria; single homelessness is often linked to other complex needs, such as addictions or mental health, and hence relevant to our broader group of complex need (or 'Severe and Multiple Disadvantage', 'SMD' for short) cases of destitution. More broadly, homelessness is strongly related to poverty and often triggered by adverse changes of circumstances, a combination also associated with destitution (Bramley & Fitzpatrick 2017). Britain has a well-developed statutory framework for responding to homelessness, including a developing prevention approach, and this means that relatively comprehensive data are available locally and nationally over an extended time period.

However, presenting consistent data over time and space is problematic, because of (a) marked differences between constituent countries of the UK, and changes over time in policy frameworks governing what parts of homelessness count as eligible for different degrees of assistance from local authorities; (b) intrinsic difficulties in measuring some forms of homelessness, including the most high profile form, rough sleeping, as well as more widespread but diffused forms such as 'sofa surfing'.

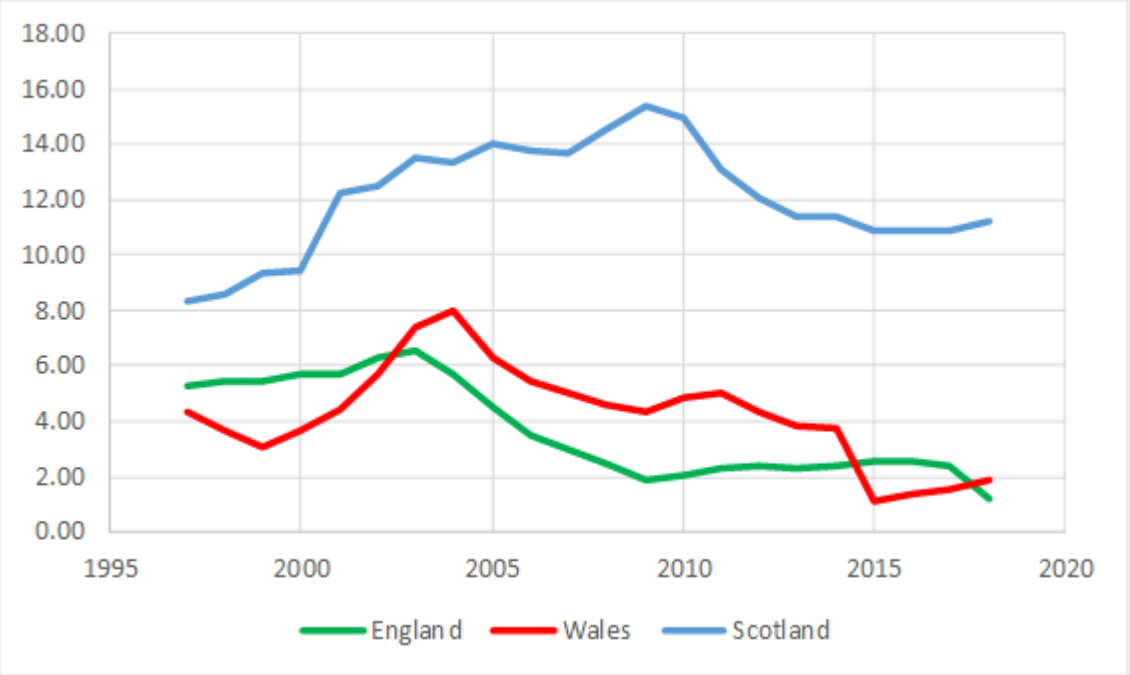
These difficulties have led to significant criticism of official homelessness statistics in England especially[10], leading in turn to significant developments of new data systems. However, in conjunction with legislative changes these add to the difficulties of generating consistent measures over time. The following Figures illustrate the varying extent to which different measures are more or less distorted by these factors.

Prior to 2018 the most popular and widely-quoted homelessness statistics referred to households 'accepted' by local authorities as homeless and 'in priority need', in terms established originally by the 1977 Housing Act. Essentially, except in Scotland (see below), this mainly focused on families with children, but also included some single people who were vulnerable. In Scotland after 2001, and even more so after 2003, this was gradually liberalised such that by 2012 all household types including single homeless had equal rights to the same service, including potential rehousing in social housing. In Wales, legislation in 2014 gave local authorities stronger duties to 'prevent'

[10] See National Audit Office (2017) *Homelessness: A Report by the Comptroller and Auditor General*. London: National Audit Office, and UK Statistics Authority (2015) *Assessment of Compliance with the Code of Practice for Official Statistics: Statistics on Homelessness and Rough Sleeping in England.* London: UK Statistics Authority.

or ‘relieve’ homelessness, even among single/childless households, while stopping short of giving full duty to rehouse in relation to non-family (or non-vulnerable adults). While England had promoted homeless prevention vigorously in the 2000s, it did not give authorities a similar duty to that introduced in Wales until 2018, under the Homelessness Reduction Act 2017. In addition, the Localism Act of 2011 gave local authorities in England powers to modify eligibility of households to full rehousing duty, although this direction of policy appears to have been stymied or reversed (Fitzpatrick et al 2020). The national differences and fluctuations in homeless main duty acceptances shown Figure 3.1.7 owe more to these different policy frameworks and reforms than to socio-economic drivers, although these also played a part. In England, strong (non-statutory) encouragement of homeless prevention drove numbers down in the 2000s, while socio-economic factors (including welfare reform and the rise of private renting without tenure security) pushed it up in the 2010s; however the new legislation introduced from 2018 brought about an immediate reduction in acceptances as more households were dealt with under ‘prevention’ and ‘relief’. Similar changes had happened in Wales from 2014. Meanwhile, in Scotland, while background levels started higher, giving all single homeless the expectation of assistance after 2001, initially temporary but increasingly permanent rehousing, led to an enormous growth in rates. Only after 2010 was somewhat more emphasis placed on prevention, causing some fall but still at a much higher level relative to England and Wales.

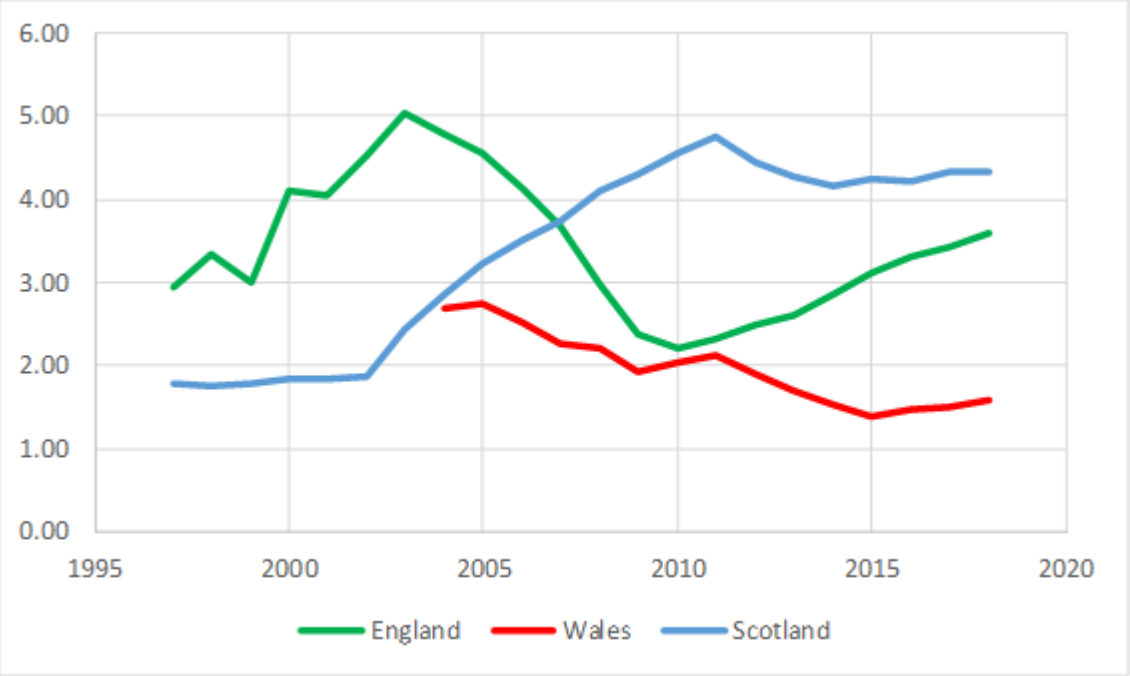
Figure 3.1.7: Homeless main duty acceptances per 1,000 households by country, 1997-2018



Sources: Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government Live Tables on Homelessness, based on Local Authority P1E returns; Statistics Wales: Homelessness Statistics; Scottish Government: Homelessness Statistics;

An indicator of homelessness pressure which shows more consistency over time is the number of households placed in temporary accommodation by local authorities. In England this fell in the 2000s with the strong emphasis on prevention, then rose steadily after 2010 as greater pressures combined with more difficulty with rehousing. In Scotland numbers rose massively after single people were given access to this type of help, but have fallen somewhat since the 2011 peak. In Wales, numbers have tended to fall, except at the end of the period.

Figure 3.1.1 Households in Temporary Accommodation per 1,000 households by country, 1997-2018

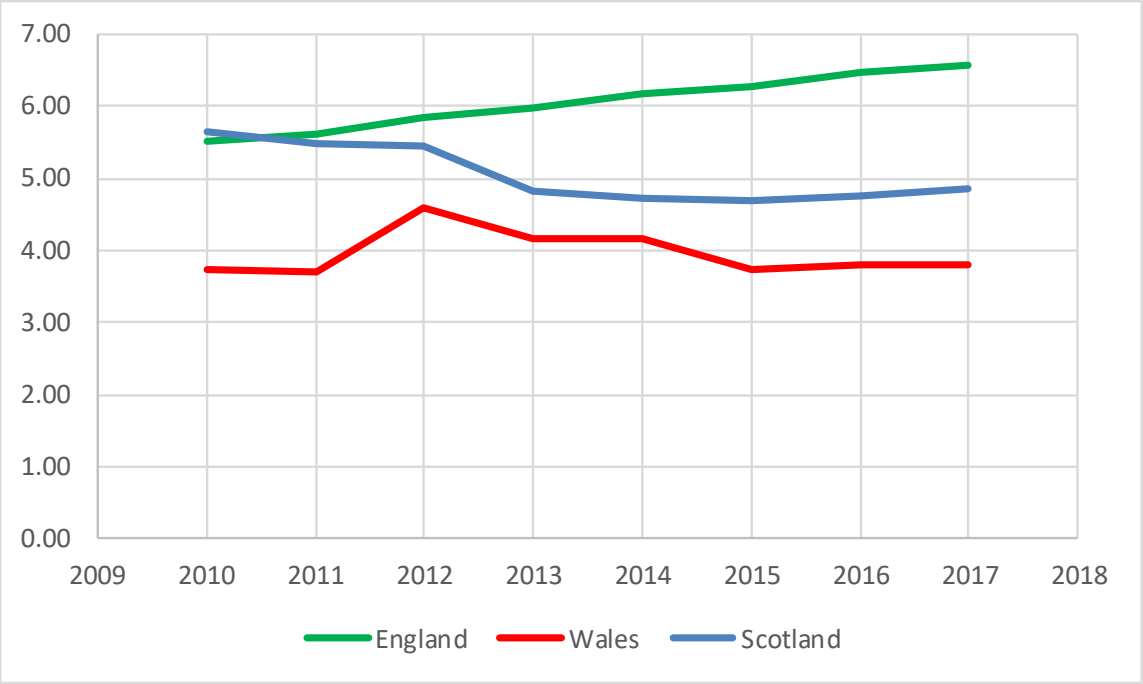


Sources: as for previous figure.

A third indicator, which we would claim is more consistent, albeit not mainly generated from routine administrative returns, is 'core homelessness'. This is a current snapshot measure of the number of households in the more extreme and immediate forms of homelessness, including rough sleeping, staying in other non-conventional structures, hostels, refuges and shelters, unsuitable forms of temporary accommodation (e.g. Bed and Breakfast, 'out of area' placements), and 'sofa surfing'. The estimates in Figure 3.1.9 suggest a steady increase in England from 2010 to 2017[11], while numbers /rates in Scotland and Wales have fallen back since 2012. We would argue that the higher rate in England at the end of this period represents a truer picture of the relative pressure in the housing systems of the three countries as it bears on those in the weakest economic or civic position to deal with it, in contrast with the two preceding indicators shown.

[11] New estimates to be published in December 2020 indicate continued growth in core homeless numbers in England between 2017 and 2019.

Figure 3.1.9: Core homelessness per 1000 households by country, 2010-17



Source: Bramley (2017) *Homelessness Projections* (Crisis), and (2018) and *Homelessness Projections – Updating the Base Number* unpublished report to Crisis.

Benefit Sanctions

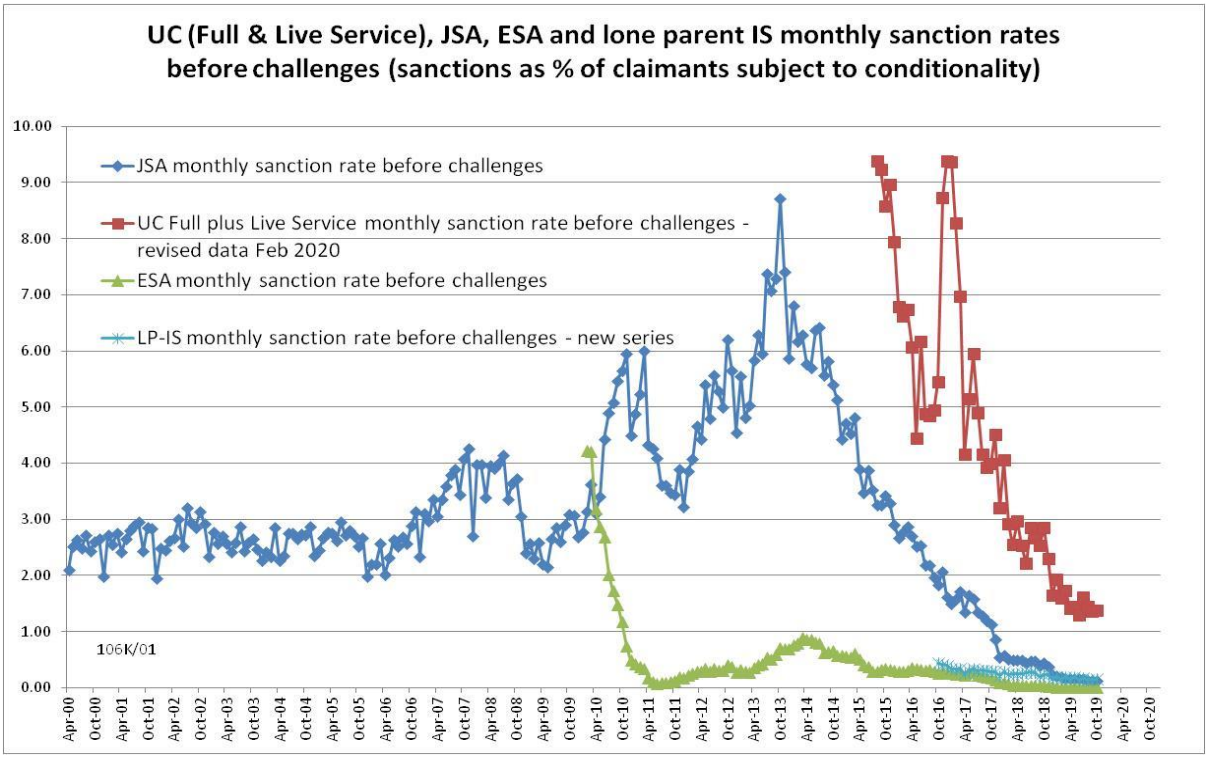
A specific cause of destitution identified in the 2015 destitution study was the high number of benefit sanctions being applied, particularly in relation to Job Seekers Allowance (JSA). However, from the official national data which is summarized in Figure 3.1.9, it appears that the annual number of sanctions for JSA claimants rose most strongly in the period from 2009 to 2013, and that from 2014 onwards it has in fact been falling quite steeply, reaching a negligible level by 2019.

During this period since 2017, there has been a large scale rollout of Universal Credit (UC) as the main income-related working age benefit for those unemployed or unable to work for ill health or other reasons (see also Figure 3.1.10 below). Initially, the level of sanctioning within UC appeared to be running up to similar high levels to those exhibited by JSA in 2014, as can be seen in Figure 3.1.9. It was also pointed out by Webster (2020) and others that UC sanctions were potentially more onerous. This would have contributed to sanctions still being a significant factor in the experiences identified by destitute households in the 2017 study. However, since 2017 the rate of sanctioning within UC seems to have fallen almost as precipitately as that in JSA did, with the rate hovering around 1.5% in that year.

These trends are monitored and discussed in regular bulletins produced by Webster (2020). Some part of the change may reflect the changing case mix within UC as it was rolled out to a wider range of claimants. However, it would appear that, through administrative and managerial action rather than through announced policy change,

the DWP have effectively reduced the vigour of the sanctions regime for UC, as they previously did for JSA. In late March 2020, in response to the Coronavirus Pandemic and Lockdown, UC and other benefit sanctions were suspended, although only for a 3-month period.

Figure 3.1.9: Monthly Benefit Sanction rates for UK, JSA, ESA and Lone parents, as percent of claimants subject to conditionality, UK 2000-2019



Source: Webster, D. (2020) *Briefing: Benefits Sanctions Statistics February 2020* http://www.cpag.org.uk/david-webster Figure 6.

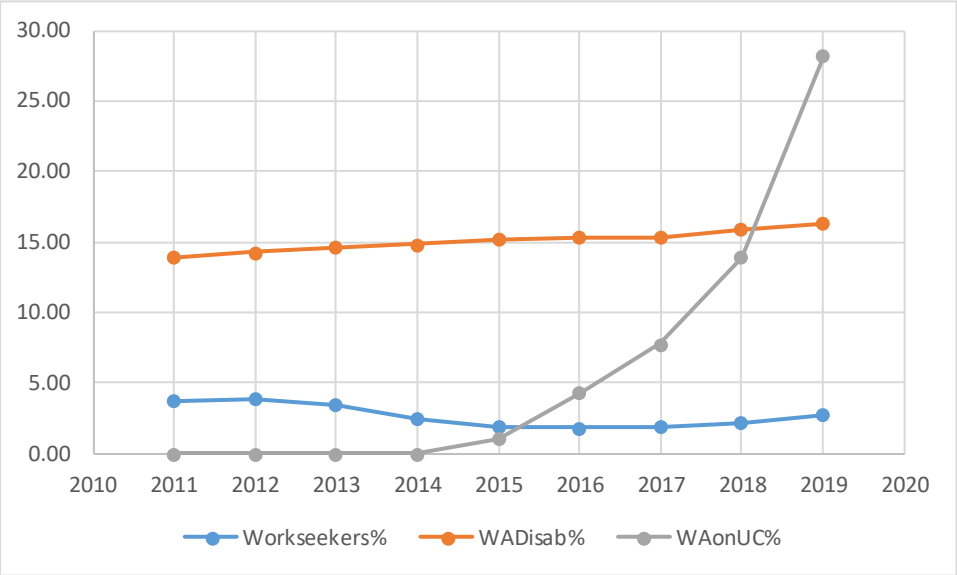
This evidence suggests that we should not expect sanctions to be as large a factor in triggering or exacerbating destitution in 2019 as in previous years.

Other Benefit-Based Indicators

We are also able to report some temporal trends for a range of other benefit-related measures over the last decade, compiled as part of the parallel *State of Hunger* research for the Trussell Trust. The particular time series indicators reported in this section were compiled for England, but the GB or UK-wide picture would be generally similar.

Figure 3 presents indicators for the receipt of key benefits from the working age population, deriving from unemployment ('workseekers') and longer-term disability and health conditions. It can be seen that the former fell significantly from the period of the last recession (2011-12) through to 2016, but that there has been some increase again since 2017 (even pre-Covid).

Figure 3.1.10: Indicators of working age benefit receipt (percent of working age residents of England)

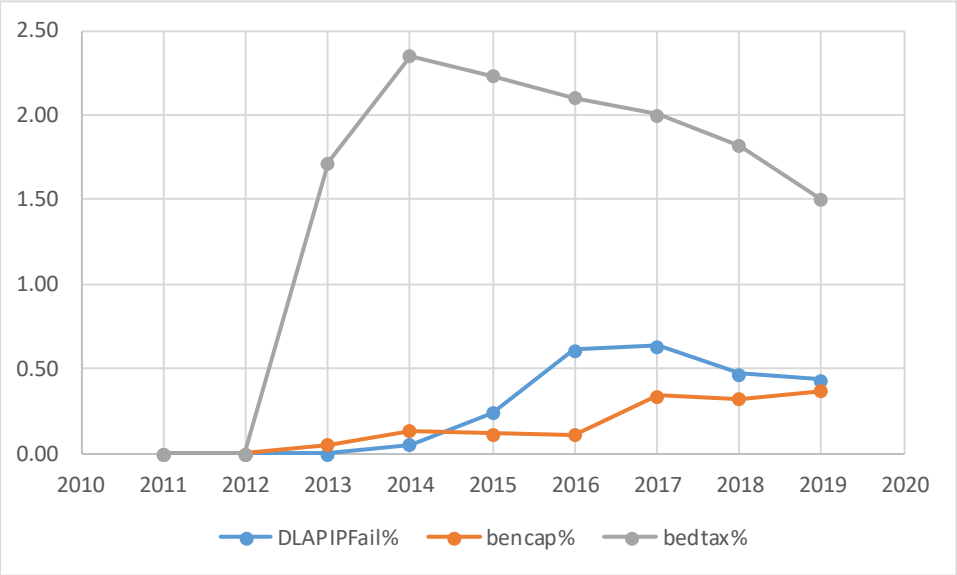


Sources: DWP benefit statistics accessed through Stat-Xplore and ONS Annual Population Survey accessed through NomisWeb.

Figure 3.1.10 also shows the trajectory of the major policy reform driven change, the build-up of cases on Universal Credit (UC), which has effectively been rolled out to all new claimants or claimants with changed circumstances since 2016 (effectively in most areas including our case study areas for Destitution, since our previous survey in March 2017). This is a big change quantitatively, and evidence from both 2017 and 2019 Destitution Surveys, particularly the qualitative interview evidence, show that this transition has been accompanied by many problems for households making the change, or failing to make it in some cases.

The next Figure, 3.1.11, looks at the time line for three particular welfare reform measures which have been believed to have impacted adversely on certain groups of households.

Figure 3.1.11: Indicators of particular welfare reform impacts (percent of working age residents of England)



Source: as Figure 3.1.10.

The reform widely known as the 'bedroom tax' (officially, the removal of the 'spare room subsidy' from social sector tenants who are deemed to be under-occupying) was implemented with very widespread effect in the years 2013-14; since then the number of households affected remains high although it has gradually reduced. It is clear that while some affected households have been able to move to smaller/cheaper accommodation, or improve their work income sufficiently, this has not been the case for the majority of those affected. This reform removes a proportion of benefit income, not most or all of it, and many households affected have been able to obtain Discretionary Housing Payments from their Local Authority to offset it. In Scotland and Northern Ireland devolved powers have been used to fully offset this reform. Therefore, taking these points and the time profile into account, we would not expect this reform to have been such a strong driver of new cases of destitution in 2019, although it may still be exacerbating the position of chronically poor households over this period.

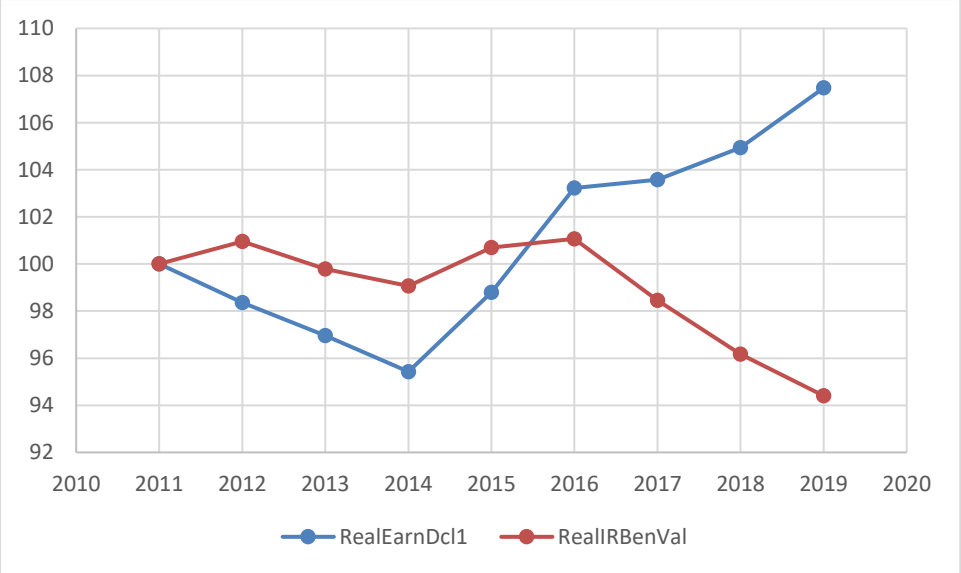
The reform involving the replacement of DLA with PIP has been progressively rolled out over the period since about 2013, with a peak of impacts apparently in the years 2016-17 but persisting quite high through to 2019. The issue is that quite a high proportion of assessments of former DLA or new claimants are deemed to 'fail' the test for PIP eligibility, or the level of eligibility, and while there is an appeal route and many of these decisions are later reversed, the time delays involved are substantial. In addition, the financial penalty for 'failing PIP' can be very large as it also affects the rate of ESA /UC which can be claimed for normal living costs[12]. PIP failure features strongly in Destitution qualitative accounts and also in both qualitative and

[12] PIP losses are mitigated using devolved powers in Northern Ireland, and this may happen in future in Scotland.

econometric modelling undertaken in the State of Hunger project on food bank demand. We would therefore underline the argument that this timeline is indicative of a significant driver of destitution in both 2017 and 2019. The timeline suggest that this was beginning to be important by 2017 but that this will have been reinforced by 2019.

The benefit cap is a reform introduced in 2013 but sharpened in 2016 through the lowering of its level, bringing more households (particularly lone parent families) into the net in a wider range of geographical areas[13]. This is a reform which may have a gradual effect rather than the more sudden impact of PIP or sanction, because it does not represent such a dramatic loss of income.

Figure 3.1.12: Indicators of real value of lowest decile earnings and main working age benefits (deflated by inflation index based on lowest income group consumption pattern, 2011=100)



Source: authors's calculations based on DWP Benefit Rates, ONS Expenditure and Food Survey spending data and RPI price index components. Note: lowest decile of earnings of all full and part-time workers.

Figure 3.1.12 shows two indicators which link the benefit system and the wider economy. Firstly, a measure of real earnings at the bottom end of the labour market (lowest decile) show that there was a significant fall after the last recession, up to 2014, but that from 2015 onwards this has been recovered and the indicator has moved in a positive direction. This must be primarily the result of the introduction of the so-called National Living Wage from 2015 and its subsequent uprating, but may also have been reinforced by the high level of employment activity up to 2018. We do not generally find a high representation of people in work in the destitution surveys, although some have clearly experienced loss of job or hours/earnings as a contributory factor.

[13] Benefit cap impact is mitigated in Northern Ireland using supplementary payments.

However, the other indicator show a marked move in the other direction, for those reliant upon working age benefits. Benefit uprating was reduced in the period 2011-15, then frozen after 2015. Inflation has eroded about 6-7% of the value of these benefits since 2016, a significant contributor to destitution since some of the benefit rates, particularly for singles, were very close to the destitution level, and far below replacement rates in other European countries or in earlier decades in the UK (Vizard & Hills forthcoming, ch.2). Econometric evidence from State of Hunger research shows that year-to-year changes in this indicator can be a significant predictor of food bank demand, allowing for other significant factors (Sosenko et al 2019).

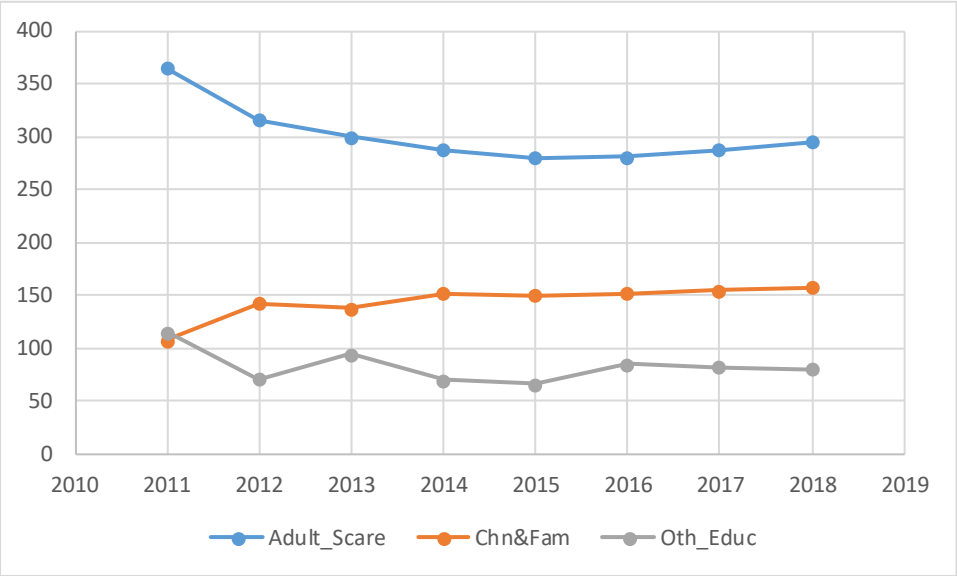
Local Government Service Expenditure

Another part of the context for destitution is represented by the services which local government provides, some of which may have a particular role to play in supporting people at higher risk of destitution, including children and families, people with disabilities, mental health problems, or at risk of homelessness. Tables 3.1.13-3.1.14 provide indices of real change in local authority budgeted spend in England[14] between 2011 and 2018. This draws on published research looking at the impact of local government spending cuts post 2010[15].

[14] Administrative and data differences make it difficult to combine the UK countries in local government expenditure analysis. There may be some differences in trends for different spending heads, for example Wales protected spending on Supporting People more than England.

[15] See Hastings et al (2017).

Figure 3.1.13: Spending on Relevant Local Authority Services (1): Children and Families, Adult Social Care, Other (non-school) Education - £ per head of population @ 2018 prices, England



Source: Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy *Financial and General Estimates Statistics,* annual 2010/11 to 2018/19, deflated by CPI.

Figure 3.13 looks at three of the larger relevant budgets for local authorities. Adult social care saw substantial reductions from 2011 to 2015, but spending seems to have crept back up a little since then[16]. It is widely recognised that adult social care services are inadequate and under serious pressure, awaiting political resolution of structural/funding reform; the recent Covid-19 crisis has served to underline this. Local authorities have used some of the slight relaxation on ability to raise Council Tax since 2016 to put a bit back into these budgets, but not enough to match the full need.

Children and families social work services deal with a lot of families who are both in poverty and subject to other pressures, and have some powers to provide emergency financial /material assistance. It is widely recognised that these services are under pressure of rising demands relating to children at risk of abuse, disabilities and mental health problems, and that funding is inadequate, despite some increases in this period[17].

The 'Other education' heading covers what local authorities spend on education related activities apart from Schools themselves – this included a range of related welfare provision (financial and staffing), advisory/support services, youth, community and adult education. In general, this area has suffered quite large cuts since 2010,

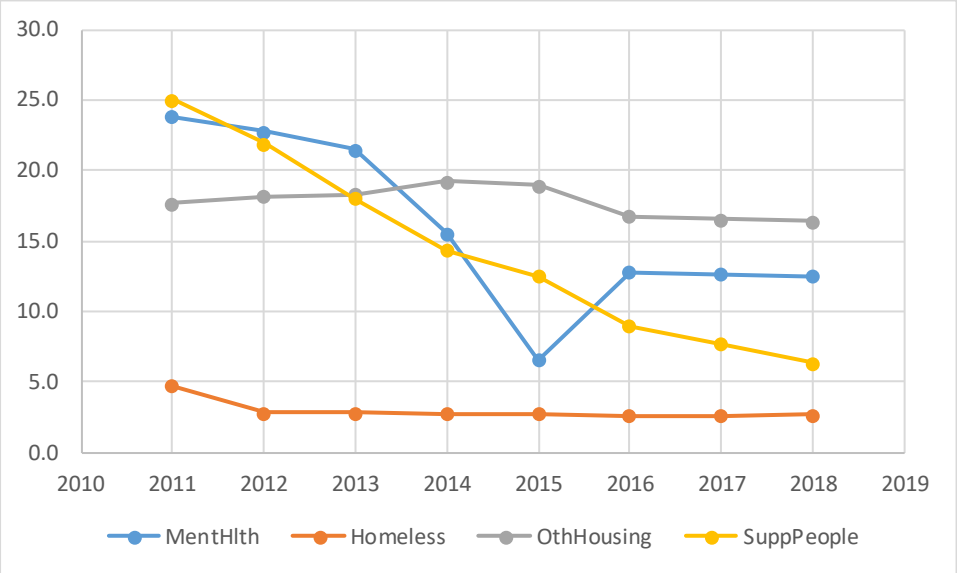
[16] This chart runs from 2011, but in fact the major 'austerity' cuts began in 2010/11, so this somewhat understates their impact.

[17] The sharp increase apparent in 2012 may be due to transfer of service and spending responsibilities relating to learning difficulties from NHS to Local Authorities.

although the picture may be complicated by changes in the division of responsibilities between local authorities and devolved school budgets.

Figure 3.1.14 looks at some spending heads which are smaller in overall scale but may be particularly relevant to groups at risk of destitution, for example those with mental health support needs, homeless people or those vulnerable in the housing market. All of these services have seen cutbacks of some magnitude in this period. The biggest and most sustained cut was in the former 'Supporting People' programme[18], with most of this former ring-fenced budget taken out over this decade, while LA spend on mental health dropped precipitously until 2015, before stabilising from 2016. Other housing spend rose somewhat but then fell back to a lower level. Homeless spending fell sharply at the beginning, then gently through the rest of the period, despite a renewed set of policy commitments in this area (Homeless Reduction Act implementation and working towards Ending Rough Sleeping).

Figure 3.1.14: Spending on Relevant Local Authority Services (2): mental health, homelessness, other housing, Supporting People - £ per head of population @ 2018 prices, England



Source: As for Figure 3.1.13

Overall, these data suggest that reductions in relevant support and prevention services in local government in England will be likely to have contributed to destitution in the whole period covered by our studies (2015 to 2019).

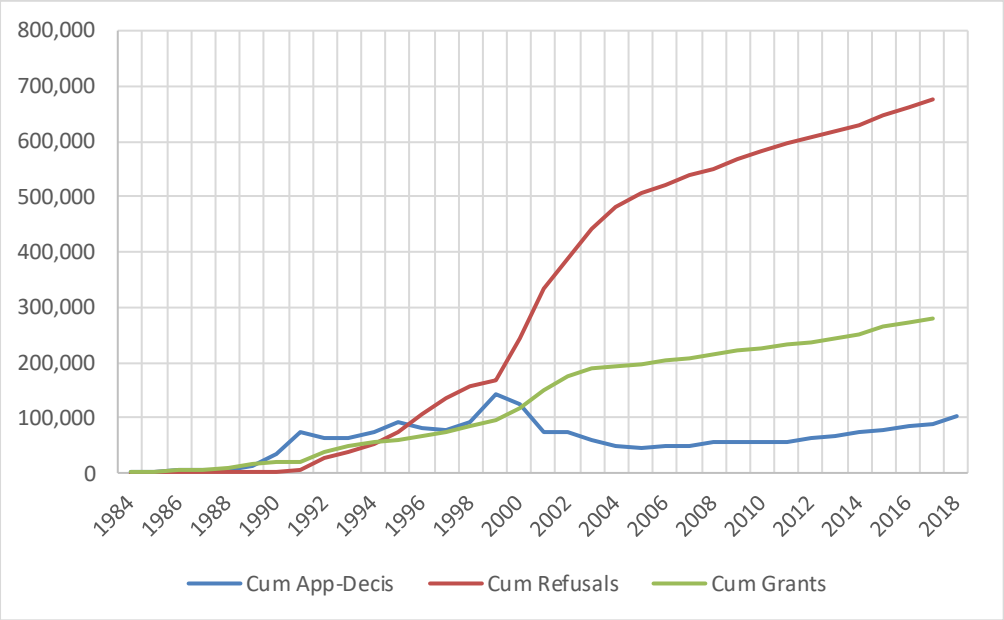
[18] The Supporting People programme was developed during the 2000s to provide additional housing-related support to a range of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups, with shorter term services particularly relevant to complex need people experiencing or at risk of homelessness, while longer term services targeted learning and other disabled groups and older people.

Migrants at risk of destitution

Asylum Seekers are a group about whom we know quite a lot, and who are very likely to experience destitution. There was a massive spike in numbers in the period 1998-2002. Since that time, numbers have settled down to a more steady 20-25,000 pa up to 2014. In 2015-2016, the period of the European and Syrian refugee crises, numbers rose to around 32,000, falling back to around 27,000 in 2017.

The possible (upper limits of the) contribution of asylum seekers to the pool of undocumented migrants over time may be illustrated by Figure 3.1.15. This shows the cumulative number since 1984 granted asylum (now totalling 280,000), the cumulative discrepancy between applications and decisions (which peaked at 142,000 in 1999 but which is now creeping up again from 46,000 in 2005 to around 88,000 in 2017 and 105,000 in 2018), and the cumulative total of refusals which stood at 683,000 at the end of 2018.

Figure 3.1.15: Cumulative Asylum Grants, Refusals and Discrepancy between Applications and Decisions, UK 1984-2018



Source: Home Office Migration Statistics: asylum1_2019_q3_tabs.ods<as_01>'

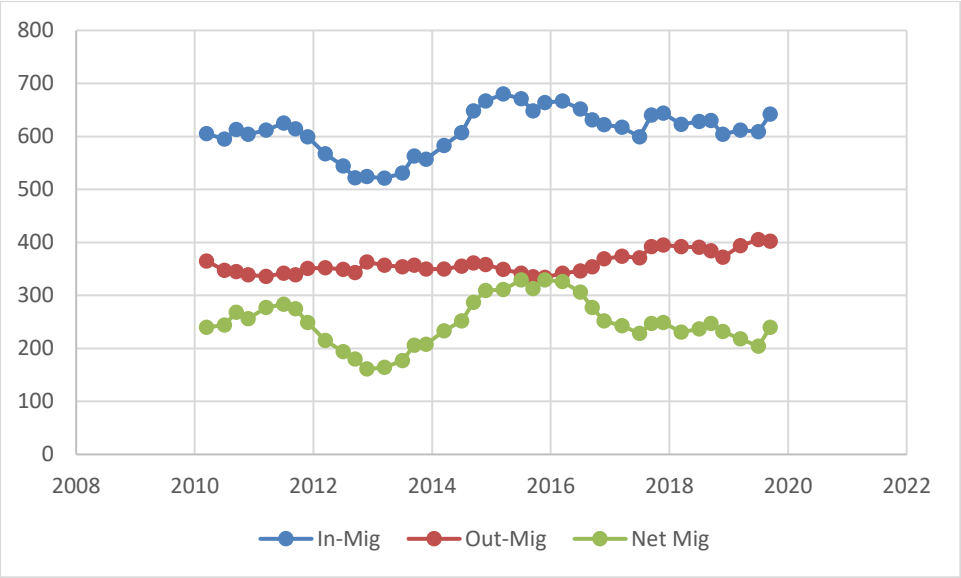
Consideration of detailed Home Office data suggests that the 'unaccounted for' group could be of the order of 56%-75% of the number of refusals. Taking the lower of these figures, one could read from Figure 3.1.10 that the contribution of refused asylum seekers to the pool of undocumented migrants could be of the order of 400,000, and still growing.

General migration trends

Wider data on migration showed strong continuing growth in population from net migration to the UK up to 2016, running at between 200 and 300 thousand per year, but subsequently falling back somewhat following the Brexit vote – see Figure 3.1.16. The gross in-migration numbers were running at between 500,000 and 700,000 per year and again the peak was in 2015-16. While net migration from EU countries has fallen since 2016, this has been partly offset by further increases in migration from other regions of the world, driven by a range of factors including a relatively strong employment situation and growth of higher education. General migration levels can feed into pressure in housing markets, with more households competing in the private rented sector in particular.

While many of these migrants are coming to take up work, study or join family members, some will be in a vulnerable position through not having access to welfare benefits or public housing, including some of the 1.56 million working age adults who have arrived from new EU member states since 2004 and remain in UK in 2019, and some of the wider pool of undocumented migrants (other than asylum seekers). We estimated, for example, in the 2016 Technical Report that there was a cumulative total of about 350,000 'visitor switchers' since 2001, of whom 140,000 were in London.

Figure 3.1.16: UK International Migration Numbers 2010-19 (persons, quarterly)



Source: ONS international migration statistics.

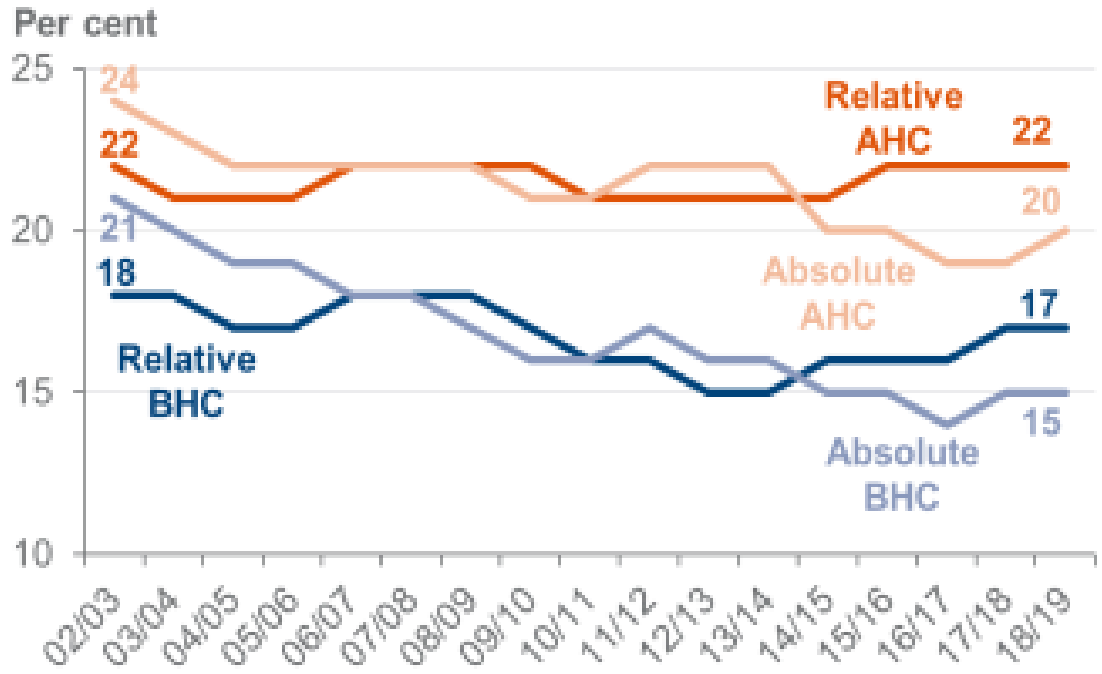
From this figure and the previous one we would argue that migration has been a continuing factor in the UK housing and labour markets throughout the period of our three Destitution studies, and that in terms of sheer numbers the situation would not have changed greatly between 2017 and 2019. From qualitative evidence and media stories, we would suggest that the detailed operation of migration, employment, housing and benefit systems and practices may be particularly significant for some groups at high risk, including the effects of the 'Hostile Environment' policy, and that

these may have changed over this time in ways that are not necessarily captured in statistical series.

Official poverty measures

It is appropriate before concluding this section to report on the official poverty measures produced routinely by DWP in the series known as 'Households Below Average Income', and analyses derived from this series. These relate to former UK targets on reducing child poverty, and to reinstituted targets in some of the devolved nations such as Scotland. However, it should be emphasised that poverty in these series is a much wider concept and measure than Destitution.

Figure 3.1.17: Trends in UK poverty 2002/03-2018/19 (percent of individuals, before and after housing costs, in based on relative and absolute real income thresholds)



Source: DWP (2020) *Households Below Average Income: An analysis of UK income distribution 2002/03 to 2018/19*.Published 16 March 2020. P.1

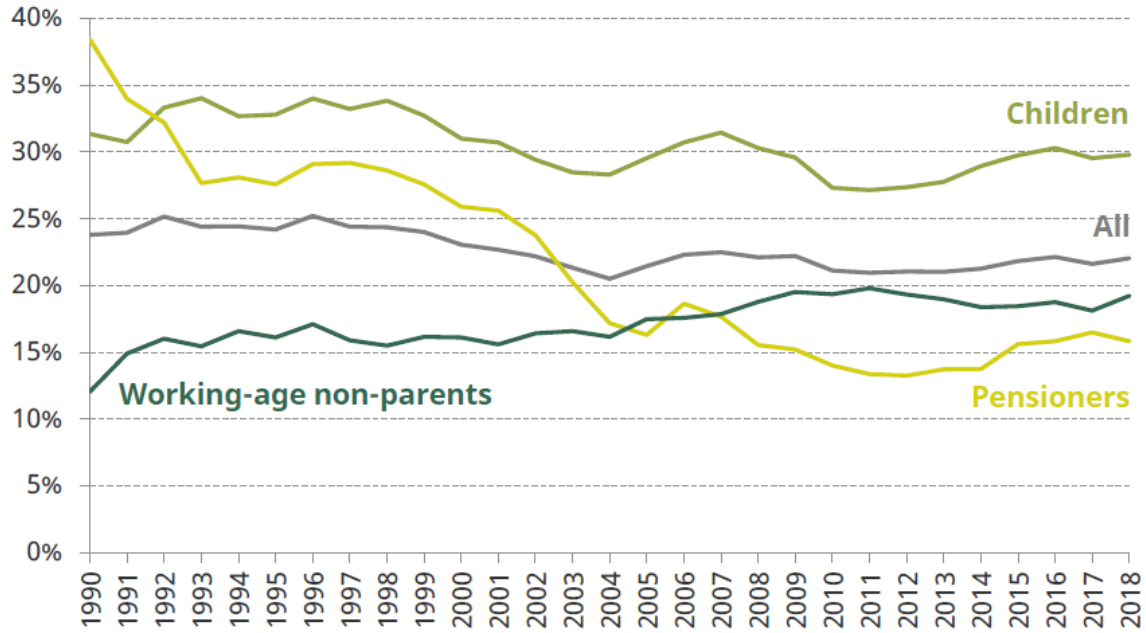
Figure 3.1.17 shows trends since 2002 in the key official measures, referring to the whole population. It is generally recognised now that 'After Housing Costs' (AHC) is a better measure of poverty than 'Before Housing Costs' (BHC). On that basis one can say that poverty in the UK, having fallen considerably in the late 1990s and early 2000s, has essentially flat-lined since then. In2016/17 there was a slight apparent upturn in relative poverty, bringing it up to the same level as in 2002/03, at which it has remained for the last three years.

What is perhaps misleadingly termed 'absolute poverty' (measured against a fixed real terms threshold) fell in 2002-2004 and again between 2014 and 2015, although it rose

again in 2018/19. This was a period when real household incomes were recovering somewhat, after a significant fall in the period 2009-12.

Table 3.1.18 presents an HBAI-derived analysis by IFS showing longer-term trends for three main demographic groups as well as overall. The longer perspective is that all-household poverty fell from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s, since when it has fluctuated, with an upward movement since 2013. The story for children is similar, at a higher level but with a more pronounced drop between 2008 and 2011, largely offset by the rise between 2012 and 2016. For working age non-family households, poverty rose between 1990 and 1996, flat-lined until 2004, then rose again to 2012, dipped a bit to 2017, and has risen back to nearly its peak level in 2018/19. Pensioners show quite a distinct long run trend, with a very large reduction in poverty from 1990 to 2005, a further reduction from 2007 to 2012, but a more recent moderate rise back to the level of 2008. Pensioners remain the least poor broad demographic group, as they have been since 2008, whereas in 1990 they were the poorest.

Table 3.1.18: Relative poverty rate after housing costs by demographic group, UK 1990-2018



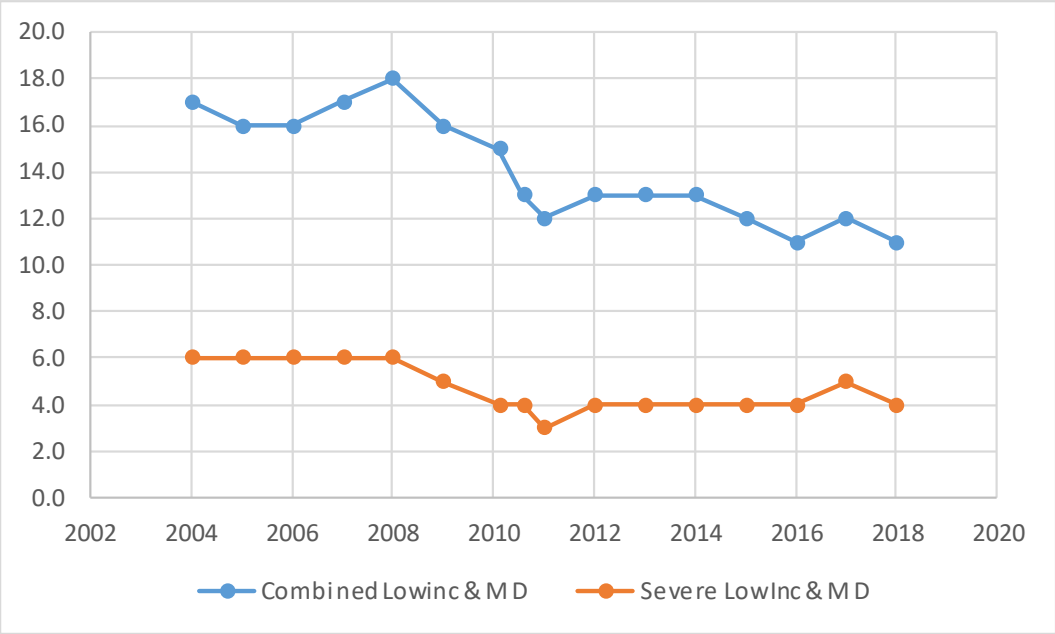
Source: Bourquin et al (2020), Figure 3.1.

These measures suggest that, insofar as general poverty influences destitution, it would have been exerting a positive influence (reducing destitution) in the period to 2015, whereas since then it has had an influence towards increasing destitution, both in 2017 and 2019. However, this is using relative poverty measures set at a fairly broad level (60% of median) capturing around a quarter of the population. Measures focused on more severe poverty are explored in Bourqin et al (2020, ch.4). These appear to show falls, or very low growth in real incomes in the bottom tenth, with similarly negative experience in terms of expenditure in the second lowest decile (op. cit, Fig

4.2). However, there are measurement problems with the lowest incomes, and this picture is inconsistent with that based on material deprivation.

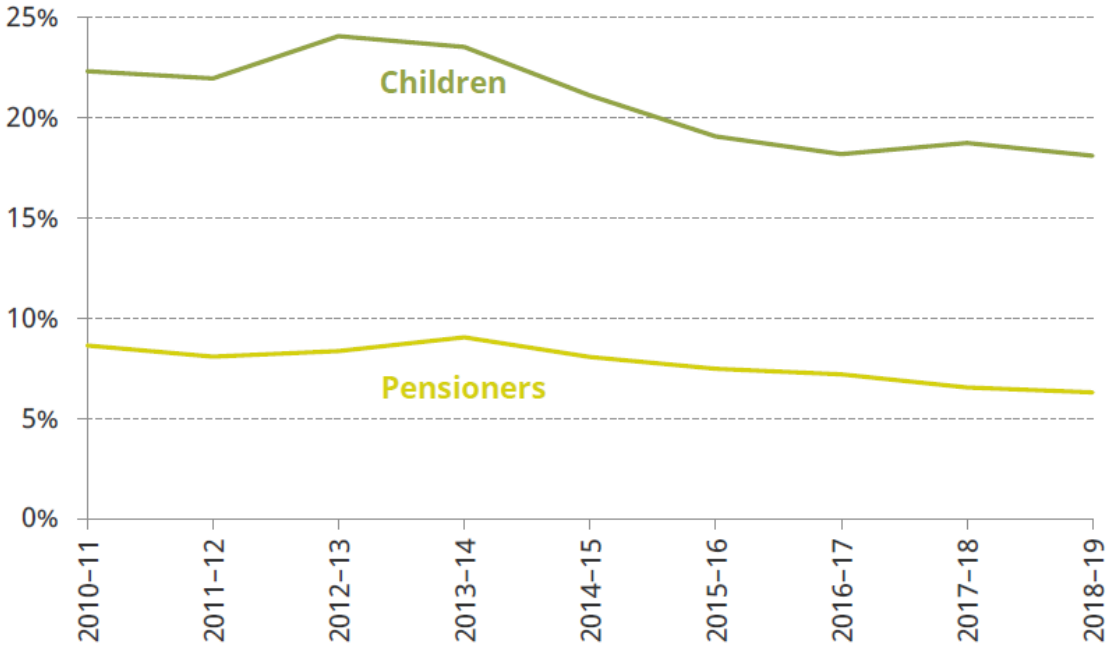
A measure which comes closer to severe poverty and destitution is the combined material deprivation and low-income measure provided for children, but not for working age adults, as in Figure 3.1.19. This showed a decline from 2008 to 2011, with then a period of stability to 2014 and a modest fall to 2016, with a small upward blip in 2017, reversed in 2018. The related measure of severe low income and material deprivation declined from 6% to 4% of children between 2008 and 2012, with apparent stability thereafter apart from an upward blip to 5% in 2017. This measure comes closer to destitution, for families, than the broader poverty measures, but still suffers from some limitations – it uses before housing costs relative low income, which misses the impact of rising housing costs, while also being affected by the falling general level of incomes in the great recession of 2008-11.

Figure 3.1.19 Combined low income and material deprivation and combined severe low income and deprivation, percent of children in UK 2004-16.



Source: Households below average Income 2018/19, Table 4c. Note: there was a change in the definition in terms of the child deprivation items in 2010. Low income means 70% of median net equivalised income before housing costs; severe low income means below 50%; materially deprived if weighted score over 25.

Figure 3.1.20: Child and pensioner material deprivation rates 2010/11-2018/19



Source: Bourquin et al (2020), Figure 3.4

The final measure presented here looks just at the material deprivation indicators for children and pensioners for the period since 2010. For children there was a rise in the period around 2012-13, then a fall of about a quarter to 2016, with again a very slight blip in 2017. For pensioners, the rate is much lower, showing a modest upswing around 2012-13 but then declining continuously to a relatively low level (6%) by 2018.

While the evidence presented in this section does not provide a clear explanation for rising destitution in the period 2017-19, or more generally over the decade, it should be underline that all of these measures refer to broader sectors of the population, in the range of 5-25% of the total, whereas destitution is focused on the worst-off 1-2%. A further point to remember is that of the order of 30-40% of destitute 'households' are not actually settled in private households at the time of their destitution, and therefore will not be included in the major household surveys that provide the basis for all of the statistics presented in this section. Finally, as should be clear from the qualitative evidence reported in our main reports (e.g. Fitzpatrick et al 2018), destitution typically results from the *combination* of a background of poverty or severe poverty (and debt) over an extended period interacting with individual 'shocks', or events, whether involving job, health, relationship or, very often, access to or receipt of benefits.

Summing Up the Evidence on Trends

The evidence presented in the preceding section on trends in aspects of poverty, destitution, key drivers and groups at risk presents a mixed picture. Official measures of poverty tend to show a picture of either stability or moderate improvement over the last decade, although with some evidence of increases or 'blips' in the last 2-3 years.

From CAB advice data (also StepChange) we show continuing increases in rent arrears and Council Tax debt/arrears problems, and recently in fuel debts. Total benefit issues have risen again, with the biggest issue now being Universal Credit, displacing the previous major issues with PIP. Refugee issues remain high since 2016, while the steep rise in charitable support continues, which matching the renewed rise in foodbank usage reported by Trussell Trust.

Overall homelessness is increasing, including rough sleeping, at least in England. Rates of sanctioning of job-seekers grew spectacularly to 2013 but have fallen back as dramatically since 2014, and although there was new growth in UC sanctions, this had also fallen off by 2019. Disability issues in the benefit system are of large and growing importance, and failed PIP assessments have been a big issue since 2016. Other benefit issues remain widespread ('bedroom tax') or increasing (benefit cap) since 2016, as well as the fall in the real value of already low working age benefit rates brought about by curbs and freezes since 2011.

Austerity in the form of cuts in relevant local government services has also been an issue through the period since 2010, with particular causes for concern in the social care sector, mental health, supporting people and other housing/homelessness services. While the big spike in asylum seeking was in 2000, the cumulative impact of refused asylum seekers and other irregular migrants is still growing, while EU migrants may be at increasing risk as the Brexit-related residence/citizenship deadline approaches.

3.2. Measuring change in destitution

Measuring change in destitution between 2015, 2017 and 2019 is naturally something we wish to do, but is in practice quite difficult. There are two main reasons for this difficulty. *Firstly*, the risks of destitution and the local contexts and responses to it are all *very variable*. Given finite resources for this study we have to work with relatively small samples of localities and, within that, of services providing different forms of support. In technical terms, this is a very *clustered sample* (113 services within 18 localities), but the variance between localities and services is high. In addition, even when looking at the same sample of agencies providing services, there can be changes over two-and-a-half years which are due to changes in key personnel or funding, not just to changes in objective need/demand. *Thirdly*, based on the experience of the previous study, we identified a number of ways in which the detailed design of this survey could be improved for its second iteration. Whereas in 2017 we prioritised improving the study over maintaining precise comparability, particularly in detailed questionnaire design, in 2019 we emphasized continuity, with no substantive change in the questionnaire or the way destitution is derived from it. The coverage of the overall national population at risk was improved in 2017 by a rebalancing of case study areas to include more of middle and more prosperous England, whilst in 2019

we have simply added two additional London boroughs to improve coverage of the capital. Therefore, we believe that comparisons between 2017 and 2019 should be more informative than our attempts at assessing changes from 2015 to 2017.

As in the previous study, when trying to describe *changes* in destitution numbers/rates and in the characteristics and experiences of those affected, we pay particular attention to changes in the 16 areas represented in both 2017 and 2019. Further, because service agencies are so variable, we argue that it also makes sense to focus comparisons particularly on those agencies which participated in both surveys. Although where agencies had to be substituted we tried to go to a similar agency in terms of type and scale, this was not always possible, so there would inevitably be more differences in this group. Fortunately, again, a large majority (73 out of 103) of the original agencies from 2017 participated again in 2019.

Table 3.2.1 presents measures of change in numbers of service users and numbers destitute divided into the three main analytical groups used in this study: migrants[19], complex needs, and other UK, between 2017 and 2019, across the 16 case study areas. Figures are presented on a weekly weighted basis, using a hybrid weight, which uses the adjusted probability of selection from 2019 combined with the response rate from the year in question (i.e. the 2017 response for 2017, and 2019 response for 2019).

This table suggests that there was an increase in all of these numbers, overall and in most case study areas, with a rather similar increase in service users as in the number within that who were destitute. The headline ***increase*** in destitution numbers of households derived from this analysis appears to be 23%. The weighted numbers are expressed on the grossed weekly households basis, which we regard as the most robust basis for this exercise. There are substantial and significant differences in the rate of increase between the three analytical groups, with the largest increase being for destitute migrants (42%), and the smallest for complex need (8%), with the other UK group increasing by a bit more than the average, at 25%. These differences appear significant and are discussed further elsewhere (later in this Chapter, and in Appendix E) and in the main report. However, at this point it is pertinent to observe that the increase from 2017 to 2019 is of a similar order of magnitude, but opposite in direction, to the change estimated between 2015 and 2017.

The number of service users (the footfall through the services) rose by slightly more than the number destitute, with a 26% rise in the overall number. So, by implication the proportion of users who were destitute actually decreased very slightly from 2017, while remaining a large majority.

There is (as in 2017) a notable variation in the level and even direction of change across the 16 areas. Some of the changes which look more extreme or out of line may

[19] Migrants are anyone born outside UK, but where a migrant has complex needs, they are included in the complex needs group.

reflect particular factors affecting the conduct of the survey in particular services in particular weeks, including disruptions to services so that, for example, the service was not operational for the usual number of hours in census week. In addition, we suspect that some estimates of total unique service users over the week for particular services may not always have been accurate, particularly in 2017. In 2018 an improved 'tally sheet' and careful briefing of and contact with Kantar interviewers (many of whom were now more experienced in what was required, as had also participated in 2017) and service contacts has probably improved the accuracy of these estimates. It is difficult to draw more generalised conclusions: for example, Scotland might generally have fared better (e.g. due to better local welfare provision), accounting for the fall in Fife, but not for the average level of increase in Glasgow. It is possible London increased less than average, but this is only basing it on two boroughs (we look further at this using secondary indicators, and this also suggests London increased less than the North), The increases in large midland/northern urban areas such as Nottingham and Kirklees look solid and fully consistent with what local informants told us about the local situation.

Table 3.2.1: Comparison of destitute households and service users between 2017 and 2019 by case study area (based on 73 agencies present in both surveys, weighted by 2019 gross weekly weight adjusted for change in response rate)

	Destitute			All Destitute
Case Study Area	Migrants	Complex needs	Other UK	Households
Glasgow	45%	16%	13%	26%
Bournemouth	73%	-58%	0%	-26%
Ealing	-15%	-43%	34%	-17%
Fife	4%	125%	-35%	-13%
Newham	64%	-35%	41%	17%
Nottingham	56%	31%	48%	44%
Peterborough	85%	-28%	169%	60%
Swansea	6%	17%	27%	19%
Wiltshire	10%	26%	34%	28%
Cheshire W & Chester	-30%	3%	78%	43%
Belfast	76%	-8%	-37%	-7%
Co Durham	60%	288%	29%	73%
Herefordshire	100%	-40%	21%	-1%
E & N Herts	N/A	2200%	389%	522%
Kirklees	38%	25%	41%	37%
Lewes & Rother	-30%	0%	45%	23%
Destitute in 16 areas	**42%**	**8%**	**25%**	**23%**

	Service Users			All Service
Case Study Area	Migrants	Complex needs	Other UK	Users
Glasgow	33%	17%	21%	24%
Bournemouth	59%	-52%	16%	-13%
Ealing	-34%	-55%	24%	-31%
Fife	13%	112%	-29%	-10%
Newham	64%	-28%	99%	39%
Nottingham	59%	13%	51%	42%
Peterborough	118%	-21%	85%	58%
Swansea	23%	14%	20%	19%
Wiltshire	40%	17%	21%	20%
Cheshire W & Chester	11%	-27%	67%	36%
Belfast	176%	38%	-29%	22%
Co Durham	220%	373%	13%	53%
Herefordshire	105%	-42%	18%	5%
E & N Herts	-100%	475%	169%	188%
Kirklees	27%	17%	28%	26%
Lewes & Rother	-17%	-8%	107%	64%
Service Users in 16 areas	**46%**	**9%**	**28%**	**26%**

Note that in 2017 the survey in East and North Herts had limited coverage, particularly in the migrant and complex need categories, leading to apparently extreme changes in percentage terms.

These change measures entail making certain assumptions and judgements, particularly about the most appropriate way of 'weighting' the results. It is therefore appropriate to describe and comment on the weightings used in the analysis of the survey at this point. Another issue discussed here is the possibility that the 'map' of services operating in each area may have changed significantly.

Weighting for comparison of same services

It will be noted that this comparison is based upon applying a modified, hybrid version of the gross weekly weight to the data for each respective year. As described elsewhere (at the beginning of section 4), this weight is the product of the reciprocal of the probability of selection and the reciprocal of the response rate, both of which are specific to agency within area by year. The general judgement here is that it is better to use weighted than unweighted, because some services are so much bigger than others, and some have lower response rates than others (and thereby represent a larger population, relative to the achieved completed questionnaires).

However, while it is desirable to use the weight specific to each year, in order to pick up changes in response rates, it is undesirable to have a situation where the change in numbers may be distorted by changes in the probability of selection. The comparison is supposed to be for *the same service*. We therefore argue that we should modify the weight for 2017 for the purposes of this specific comparison, substituting the adjusted probability of selection from 2019 into the calculation along with the 2017 response rate. This hybrid weight is what is used for generating the 2017 values for these specific comparisons for 'the same services' between the two years.

It was because of this issue that we were concerned with simply using normal weekly weights for making the equivalent comparisons in 2017. At that time we reported both weighted and unweighted changes. However, we now would claim that the hybrid weight for 2017 is the correct solution and that, with that in place, weighted number comparisons are appropriate.

Changes in the supply of services

As in the previous Technical Report, we were concerned to check whether there had been marked changes in the 'map' of local services identified as in scope for the survey, in any of our case study areas, or overall. This was partly to get a fuller picture of changes in the sector, and partly as a check on what might be driving change in numbers of service users estimated in particular areas. Therefore we did again revisit the spreadsheets which set out the 'map' of relevant service agencies (i.e. the sampling frame), grouped by main type and broad size band, for the two years 2017 and 2019 and the 16 areas covered in both year's surveys. The numbers are shown by size band and area in Table 3.2.2.

Table 3.2.2: Number of Services by Type, Size and Case Study Area in 2019 Survey Sampling Frame, and change in weighted number 2017-19

2019 agencies	Advice		Food		Homeless		Migrant		LWAF	Weighted	Increase
	L	S	L	S	L	S	L	S		number	%
Glasgow	9	15	0	11	4	9	1	10	1	90	-7%
Bournemouth	2	4	4	4	3	12	0	1	0	48	30%
Ealing	0	2	1	5	1	2	0	1	1	17	-23%
Fife	0	8	1	12	0	19	0	0	1	43	26%
Newham	0	7	2	15	2	9	0	6	0	49	14%
Nottingham	1	9	1	26	7	12	1	5	0	82	4%
Peterborough	1	2	0	5	0	6	0	2	0	18	0%
Swansea	2	1	1	4	2	15	1	3	1	42	0%
Wiltshire	2	2	3	7	4	5	0	0	1	42	0%
Cheshire W & Chester	2	5	3	3	6	4	0	0	1	46	-8%
Belfast	8	9	1	2	3	6	0	1	1	57	0%
Co Durham	8	2	3	4	5	2	0	0	1	57	-8%
Herefordshire	0	0	8	5	0	1	0	0	1	31	-14%
E & N Herts	2	2	0	6	2	4	0	0	1	25	32%
Kirklees	3	1	3	4	0	6	2	3	1	41	14%
Lewes & Rother	0	3	3	3	1	4	0	1	1	24	-11%
Wtd Sum	192		218		236		48		18	712	2%
Change	-5.4%		17.2%		-0.4%		-12.7%		-10.0%	1.6%	

On the basis of this table (3.2.2), particularly percentages shown in the right column and bottom row, it can be seen that the *overall* amount of change was quite limited, with only a very slight increase in the overall supply of active agencies (weighted for size). The total supply of agency capacity across the 16 areas increased by just 1.6%. That suggests that, overall, our measure of change in destitution is not likely to be distorted by this factor.

However, changes in the supply of different types of agency are interesting. There has been quite a noticeable increase in the number of food banks (17%). From our parallel research on 'The State of Hunger' we can say that, for the largest network TT over this period demand (food parcels) rose by more than this amount, so it looks as though here additional food banks are being established in response to rising demand. All the other types of agency have declined in number, although in the case of homelessness agencies it is very close to 'no change'. Advice services are down by 5%, which is consistent with accounts from the sector of some stringency of resources. Local welfare assistance services have declined in this period, effectively by 10% in this sample; we comment elsewhere on the significance of this service and the continuing retrenchment in England. Equally or more interesting is the nearly 13% decline in number of services specialising in helping migrants with their issues, including services targeted at particular migrant groups. What is striking here is that migrant numbers have increased very substantially, both destitute households and other service users (by 42% and 46% respectively), *despite* this reduction in supply. So that certainly implies that it is not a case of migrant issues diminishing in importance and that leading to closures or mergers of such services.

If there are changes in numbers of available services, this might confound our measures of change, but in different (potentially contradictory) ways. Increased need and demand may lead to more services opening: this is what we think is happening with food banks in this period, while acknowledging that in an earlier period, when the TT food bank network was expanding rapidly, increased supply probably did generate increased demand. Either of these effects would be associated with a positive correlation between supply of services and number of service users.

Conversely, there may be an inverse relationship, particularly when service availability is driven by factors other than demand, such as availability of finance, buildings, or volunteers, or the level of support from local authorities. A contraction in supply (as with migrant services) may lead to observed increased demand from this group in other surviving services, so contributing to measured increase in services surviving over this time period; or vice versa.

Across our 16 case study area there is no predominant pattern of either positive or negative correlation between total destitution numbers and weighted number of services (of all types). Furthermore, several of the case study areas where there is a marked difference between the trend in services and the trend in users, or generally extreme change in destitute users, happened to have more than usual

changes/substitutions of services between 2017 and 2019 (i.e. 3 services substituted, rather than between none and 2 which was more typical). All of this, taken together with the relatively slight net change in overall service numbers in total across all 16 areas, suggests that we can conclude that our overall measures of change in destitution are not likely to be distorted by changes in service supply, although that may be a factor in particular localities.

3.3 Local Predictive Indices

Overall approach

A key part of our analysis of secondary datasets in each destitution study has been the construction and updating of a significant database of relevant indicators for all local authorities in Great Britain. The purpose of this database is to support predictive indices to represent the expected level of destitution for broad groups in each local authority. As explained in the previous Technical Reports (Bramley et al 2016, s.4 and Bramley et al 2018, s.3.3) these indicators were derived principally from national administrative systems which identify particular factors likely to be associated with risk of destitution and provide counts over time and down to local authority level. Examples used in 2015 and 2017 included

- The former DWP Social Fund (crisis loans);
- The Scottish Welfare Fund;
- Supporting People (SP);
- Homeless applications and prevention/relief statistics (formerly P1E, now replaced by H-CLIC);
- Police incidents of minor acquisitive crime (alias shoplifting);
- Children in Need (CIN) dataset provided by local social services authorities;
- Work and Pensions Longitudinal Dataset (WPLS);
- DWP Benefit Sanctions data;
- DWP Discretionary Housing Payments (DHP);
- Home Office Case Information Database on Asylum (CID).

Most of these are still used in the 2019-20 study, updated as appropriate, but a few have been dropped and replaced by newer or more appropriate sources.

In addition, using statistical analysis of large-scale household surveys which could identify households experiencing extreme poverty, we were able to create proxy-based formulae using local data from census and other sources to predict the level of severe poverty in each locality. Some additional indicators were derived from voluntary sector organisation databases, particularly CAB's analysis of its advice cases.

These indicators aimed to provide robust predictions of the expected number of destitute households and people in each locality, broken down by the three key analytical categories used in the main research report:

- *migrants* – anyone born outside of the UK (who did not have complex needs);
- *complex needs* – anyone who reported experience of two or more of: homelessness, substance misuse, offending, domestic violence or begging;
- *UK-other* – respondents not falling into the preceding two categories.

By comparing these predictions with the findings of our census survey for the 18 case study areas, we can get a fix on the absolute scale of destitution, and adjust the final weightings on the indicators accordingly. In other words, there is a final scaling adjustment on the predictive secondary indicator formula for each of the above three groups, such that the predicted number of destitute households in each sub-category aggregated across the 18 case study areas equals the observed totals (grossed up weekly) from the Destitution survey analysis. Having done this, we can then say (a) what the total destitution numbers are nationally, and at the same time (b) what they are likely to be, approximately, in every local authority in Britain.

Updating the indicators

The 2019-20 Destitution study has involved a significant updating and development of this dataset. We have taken advantage of new or improved datasets now available and have tried where possible to establish values over a run of years, to help to track change.

Efforts have been made to achieve a more consistent set of indicators across the three GB countries, in some cases involving a degree of approximate equivalence, but it remains the case that a few components are missing for either Wales or Scotland. No attempt is made to apply this full analysis of indicators to Northern Ireland – as before, a more ad hoc single index is used to assess the approximate share of Belfast in the province's total score.

The process of assembling/updating the database was rendered significantly more time-consuming by the institution of a process of rolling local authority reorganisations in England (triggered by the effects of austerity in local government finance). Whereas the set of local authorities was stable from 2009 to 2018, from 2019 there appears to be a process of new LA definitions and codes being applied in each successive year (so, in 2018 we have Bournemouth Poole and Dorset restructuring as two unitaries, and partial mergers of districts in Suffolk and Somerset; in 2019 we have a new unitary of Buckinghamshire; etc.).

The following *new/additional sources* of indicators have been utilised:

- StepChange debt advice service data
- Trussell Trust food voucher data (adjusted for supply of foodbanks)

- Additional DWP benefit indicators from Stat-Xplore
- New child poverty indicator from DWP
- A range of new/modified homeless indicators from the H-CLIC system for England
- Newer estimates of complex need in Scotland from the Hard Edges Scotland report published in 2019 (Bramley et al, 2019)
- Indicators from the latest round of ID 2019/2020, e.g. including crime
- A new Index of Adverse Childhood Experiences (Lewer et al 2019) in England

Some other potential indicators were also tested but do not feature in the final composite indicators: a poverty measure based on published household disposable income per capita measure; modified claimant unemployment rate.

Most of the existing indicators which can be updated have been updated, including indicators from the following sources:

- Population and households
- Home Office asylum support data
- Discretionary housing payment spend (DWP)
- CAB data on benefit, debt and asylum/migrant caseloads
- Beatty & Fothergill estimates of impact of benefit cuts by time period
- Annual Population Survey (APS) based employment, occupation and qualification indicators
- Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings (ASHE)
- Housing tenure and lettings estimates

It should be noted that some of these are not used as direct indicators of destitution but are included in the synthetic models used to generate estimates of severe poverty in the household population (based on analyses undertaken in UKHLS and PSE surveys). The UKHLS proxy has been updated based on 2015-17 data from that survey, with an improved method of weighting the proxy formula within the LA dataset.

Indicators which remain in the composites but cannot be updated include

- Census based indicators of selected migration flows
- Demographic estimates of accumulated failed asylum and visa overstayer cases
- The main measure of SMD for England based on *Hard Edges* 2015 (but this is now blended with the ACE index)
- The former Social Fund loans for living costs, 2011 data

In a number of datasets values have had to be imputed for local authorities where numbers are missing in particular years, due to non-returns (e.g. H-CLIC) or small populations or for other reasons. These imputations are generally based on similar local authorities or other years. Where local authorities have merged, values have been converted back to the pre-2019 boundaries, using IMD low income score as a general adjustment factor in conjunction with populations.

Proxy-based severe poverty rates

Two composite synthetic measures of severe poverty in the private household population are included. The first was based on the UK Poverty and Social Exclusion (PSE) 2012 survey and its derivation was described in the previous Technical Report (Bramley et al 2016 pp.8-14). It has not been recalibrated, as the PSE survey has not been repeated as yet. However, most of the component predictor variables in the local authority level database have been updated from the 2011 census base to 2016 levels.

A second severe poverty indicator was developed within the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS, alias 'Understanding Society'). This highlights households in severe poverty based on experiencing all three of: (a) low AHC income, below 40% of median; (b) experiencing three or more material deprivations from the standard set of nine, or certain housing needs[20]; (c) reporting financial difficulties involving debt and arrears. It has been possible to update this, and the revised model has been recalibrated on the three waves of data from 2015/16 to 2017/18. In this latest round, the calibration of the model was done in two stages, Firstly, an individual-level predictive regression model was derived from the UKHLS. Secondly, a Local Authority-level model was fitted to a composite of the local actual value, the area-type average actual value[21], and the initial synthetic prediction based on micro-level coefficients applied to the area level demographic predictors. These new model coefficients are combined with the updated predictor dataset to generate new local estimates, which are then controlled to UKHLS actuals at the level of ONS local authority 'groups'.

These two indicators play an important role in the third main composite measure, to predict the rate of destitution in the 'UK-other' group, which mainly relates to people living within the private household population.

Weighting the indicators

As in the previous study, these indicators are combined together into three main component indices, one for each of the main destitution sub-groups: migrants, complex needs, UK-other. Each component indicator is only assigned to one of these groups. In the main England formulae, eight indicators are assigned to migrant destitution, nine to complex needs destitution, and sixteen to 'UK-other' destitution (including the two severe poverty composites, referred to just above). That makes a total of 33 component indicators feeding into three main indices.

[20] Housing need indicators were overcrowded using bedroom standard (approx.), concealed family, dwelling unsuitable for family with children or dwelling with condition problem (from interviewer observation), filtered to households unable to afford to buy a home in the market at local price levels.

[21] The combination of local actual and area-type actual is weighted by the number of observations in the local area, a form of shrinkage procedure, so that in areas with few observations the value is based mainly on the area-type average.

The detailed weightings used to combine these components into the three main indices are set out in Appendix D.

The weights used in constructing these indices are based on structured judgement. These have to take account of: (a) units of measurement, relative to target 'percent of households'; (b) time periods of reference, relative to snapshot weekly estimate; (c) whether measuring the same overlapping group or a separate sub-group at risk of destitution (down weighted for overlap); (d) whether all, most or a minority of the measured group are expected to be destitute; (e) how robust/reliable the particular indicator is judged to be. In assessing the reliability of particular component indicators, we looked at the evidence of correlations within the dataset between variables expected to contribute to each of the three main composite indicators, including the use of factor analysis to identify groups of variables which vary in a similar way across local authorities. In the light of this evidence we dropped two indicators from CAB (on 'other benefits' and on debt) and down-weighted two other (TT food parcels per 100 working age adults, adjusted for supply of food banks, and percent of working age adults on Universal Credit).

Weights of 1.0 are used where the indicator measures relevant group as a percentage at a point in time. Weights of 0.2 are generally used as a rough means of translating annual flow of cases to a point in time estimate[22]. Following the example of the 'other UK' index, a weight of 50 (subsequently down-weighted to 40) on the two synthetic indicators of severe poverty gives simple average of these two proportions converted to a percentage, although in 2019 we halved the weight on the PSE-based measure because it is more dated. A weight of 0.04 on psfliv11 (former social fund loans for living cost) is a combination of a standard component weight of 0.2 and the reduction from annual to point in time (0.2). Weights of 0.3 on pcsanc_1 (sanctioned last year) and pcbencap, pcbedtax and pcdlapipfail variables reflect evidence from State of Hunger research modelling that these benefit factors have a significant impact on destitution and food bank use (Sosenko et al 2019). Overall weight of 0.28 reflects a broad judgement about overlap: e.g. if there were no overlap between the component indicators (for 'UK-other'), this figure would be 1.00, whereas with complete overlap it would be 0.14, so the chosen figure effectively implies considerable overlap (and also the fact that additional indicators have been added to the index over time). The final value of this parameter was adjusted slightly to equate the number destitute across 15 GB case studies with the number derived from the Census survey.

Looking at the index for migrants, there are particularly low weights of 0.04 on the two components (*pcumas*+*pcumvs*), which reflect cumulative asylum and visitor overstayers, which reflect likely unemployment rate for longer term stayers from these groups. A lower weight on *pcabAnyIm* reflects both overlap and some reliability issues with this CAB-based indicator. Only one additional indicator was included in 2019,

[22] It is found in the analysis of the destitution survey that 'annual multipliers', based on responses to questions about frequency of use of services, tend to average around 5.

phlmig189, migrants applying as homeless as % of households (based on H-CLIC in England, estimated for Scotland and Wales), with half the weight of asylum population. Fuller details may be found in Appendix F.

The index for complex need (alias SMD) was enhanced by the inclusion of the recent ACE Index alongside the SMD measures from Bramley et al (2015) *Hard Edges* study as well as the availability of new measures for Scotland from the equivalent study published in 2019. A fuller suite of homelessness indicators are included, covering non-family homeless, SMD homeless indicated by previous accommodation and/or support needs (at two levels) and total temporary accommodation.

Wales and Scotland

So far as possible, the same indices are constructed for Wales and Scotland, using either fully consistent measures or approximate equivalents in some cases. In a few instances where no proxy was available that indicator is omitted and the weights adjusted accordingly.

Northern Ireland

The general LA indicator database does not extend to Northern Ireland, and many of the component measures would not be available for the Province. Instead, a more limited ad hoc index of poverty and disadvantage was composed for the 2017 study from a small number of readily available components, for the new Local Authorities created 3-4 years ago. The components of this index are low household income, unaffordability of renting, housing waiting list, international migration, NIMD low income, NIMD multiple deprivation. Each index was expressed as a ratio to the province mean and the combined index was the simple average of the seven components. The scores ranged from 1.50 in Derry and Strabane to 0.60 in Antrim and Newtownabbey, with Belfast scoring 1.29. This index, combined with the household population of each LA, is used to gross up the destitution numbers from Belfast to all of Northern Ireland.

4. National Annual Estimates

To get from the results of our one-week Census survey to national estimates of the number of destitute households and people, over a whole year, we need to take a number of steps. The first set of steps enable us to estimate the number of destitute service users in each of our 18 case study areas in Census week. The results are described in section 5. below.

Weekly estimates for Case Study Areas

Essentially, from the sampling process described in section 2, we know the *probability of selection* of each included service/agency, which depends on its type (advice, food, homeless etc, migrant) and its broad size (small vs med/large[23], with the large (or medium-large) services having a higher probability of selection (typically 3 times). We assume that similar agencies will have similar numbers of destitute clients, on average. In the course of updating the 'map' of services active in each CSA, revised information became available on the current (2019) actual number of active services in the different size groups. This is taken into account in an 'adjusted probability of selection', so that the denominator is now the actual number of services in that type-size category in 2019.

From the census returns and fieldwork we know the number of completed survey forms, and also the number unique clients (or an estimate of it) in scope that week (adjusted for any known cases already asked to complete survey form at another service that week, recorded on 'tally sheet'). The ratio of these two numbers gives us a *response rate* for each agency/service. We checked to establish that there was no systematic relationship between response rates and the general pressure of predicted destitution levels across the CSAs, and found no evidence of this.

The combination of these two pieces of information gives us a (weekly) *weighting factor* for each service agency. We multiply the numbers of survey respondents for each agency by this weighting factor to get an estimate of the total number of service users 'in scope' in the case study area in the survey week.

From the actual answers given on the questionnaire we know the number and proportion of respondents who were destitute at that time. Applying this rate to the number of respondents, for each sampled service, and applying the weighting factor described above, then summing the results, represents our best estimate of the number of destitute service users in each case study area in the census week. These numbers provide the basis for the comparisons shown in Table 3.2.1 above.

[23] In most CSAs, the division is between 'Large' (indicative weekly users .100 per week) and Medium or Small (range 10—<100 users per week. In a few CSAs, where there were few if any Large and mainly Medium/Small, we set the dividing line between Small and Medium.

Across the 18 areas we included 113 services in the census from whom 3,858 survey forms were completed, returned and coded by the Kantar Public data team. This represented a 63% response from the estimated 6,450 service clients that week. The probability of selection of agencies varied widely, from 0.04 to 1.00, with an average of 0.38. The grossing factor to obtain the total weekly users for each service within each area is the reciprocal of the response rate (adjusted for tallied duplicates) times the reciprocal of the adjusted probability of selection of the service[24]. The outturn weekly weighted total of service users from the 18 areas was 26,635, and the number found destitute was 18,332 (69%)[25].

From weekly to annual

We also aimed to try to estimate the number of clients, particularly those who experienced destitution, over a whole year. To do this we needed to allow for 'repeat visits' to the same service, and also for visits to other services 'in scope'. One issue here is seasonality of experiences of destitution and demand on services. We showed earlier some evidence indicating definite seasonality in some of the components, for example homelessness. Mindful of this, we deliberately chose to carry out the survey at an intermediate period between winter and summer (late March/early April in 2015 and 2017, October/early November in 2019). Subsequent examination of monthly data across a range of relevant indicators suggested that any overall seasonal effect would be similar for these time points, on average over a period of years.

The main issue here is about allowing for multiple use of services over the year. Clearly, if people only made one visit to one service in a year, then we could multiply our weekly number by 52 and get the annual number. Conversely, if all of the destitute service users visited services every week throughout the year, then the annual number would be no greater than the weekly number. In practice, many service users (particularly in the complex needs group) were frequent users, while many others were infrequent or one-off users (most common in the UK-other group).

Questions were included on how many times the same service had been used in the last year (using banded frequency), and also on the use of other similar services. In the latter case, the questionnaire design was changed significantly in 2017, and subject to careful cognitive testing. Respondents were prompted with six types of services and asked: 'In the last 12 months, how many times have you used any other services to get food, clothing, toiletries, power-cards, money or other necessities?' The six types of services were:

- Foodbanks

[24] The probability of selection depending on the target number of services of that type and the size-weighted number in the sampling frame, with some ex poste adjustments where new information or service substitutions altered the base data.

[25] This is before making adjustments to allow for Local Welfare Fund cases where LWAFs were operational but not in the survey, and to scale up Wiltshire and County Durham to a full-LA basis. It is also before final adjustments made to service weighting and case mix weighting in Camden, as described on p.10

- ‘Soup kitchen’ or ‘soup run’
- Advice service (e.g. Citizens Advice, money advice, welfare advice, etc)
- Day centre or drop-in centre
- Organisation supporting migrants
- Name of Local Welfare Fund e.g. ‘Help in Emergencies for Local People’ in case of Cheshire West and Chester

For each of these, respondents were to enter the number of times used in last 12 months, or to tick a separate box for ‘not used in last 12 months’. In addition, people were asked separately for how long, if at all, they had stayed in any hostels, refuges, night shelters or other temporary accommodation (banded number of weeks).

In the previous 2015 Survey the equivalent questions, relying on write-in of names of agencies, had produced a very low response and considerable difficulty coding the responses which were included. The approach described above, adopted for 2017 and refined during the cognitive testing, certainly worked better, and elicited positive response from half or more of respondents. From the raw data in 2019, we had only 8.5% missing from the frequency of use of service at which surveyed, 10% missing from the hostels usage question, 33% missing on use of foodbanks, 44% on use of advice services, 45% on hot food services, 47% on drop-in centres 50% on migrant services or LWAFs. These missing rates were somewhat lower than in 2017.

We then followed a two-step process in trying to complete the picture by using reasonable *imputation* procedures in cases where there were missing values on these indicators. Firstly, in relation to particular services, we used information available elsewhere in the questionnaire, or inconsistencies within the answers to questions, to impute some values. For example, we had indications of use of some of these services, including foodbanks and Local Welfare Funds (LWFs), from the questions on financial and in-kind support. For the frequency of use of the service where sampled, we used the median value for the type of service in question. Secondly, we used a more general imputation procedure to fill in remaining cases of missing data.

The second approach, as in 2017, was to apply the *Multiple Imputation* procedure to these data. Essentially this procedure uses a generalised set of regression models to fill holes in the data, using values of a wider set of variables to help predict these values. Three multiple imputation models were run, one for foodbank and soup run usages, one for drop-in, migrant and LWF usage, and one for hostel usage. These variables are measured on a scale of weeks per year, constrained between 0 and 52. A common set of 28 independent variables were used to help predict the missing values.

The resulting values from this multiple imputation approach were then substituted where values were missing following the first step above. A trial calculation was then made of annual multipliers (see below), Having tabulated the values by area and main destitution group (migrant, complex need, other UK), some adjustment factors were

applied to annual multipliers in 11 cases (out of 54) to moderate extreme cases and bring them more into line with the general picture.

We believe that this process, both in terms of the improved questionnaire and response, and in terms of the two-step imputation procedure including using the widely recognised standard technique of Multiple Imputation, leads to a significantly improved set of estimates of the extent of usage of other services over the year, and thereby to an improved basis for estimating annual destitution numbers. This improvement mainly happened in 2017 but there is a further marginal improvement in 2019, indicated by the somewhat lower missing data rates and the smaller scale of controlling required post-imputation.

From these estimates of frequency of use of other services, we derive an *annualisation factor*, as also described in Appendix F. On average this factor is now about 5.5, which is very similar to the average figure from 2017-18. However, this annualization multiplier is rather different between the three main destitution groups, ranging from only 3.4 for complex needs to 6.1 for migrants up to 6.7 for UK-other. Another way of expressing these figures is to say that complex needs cases use services an average of 15 times/weeks per year, whereas UK-other destitute use them 7-8 times/weeks per year, while migrants are closer to the overall destitute average of c.9 times/weeks per year. A probably significant change between 2017 and 2019 is that UK-other destitute service user households are using services more times per year, indicative of their experiencing more persistent destitution. A corollary of this is that their annual multiplier is lower than before, so that the annual number of UK-other households experiencing destitution is expected to rise less than the weekly number.

The results of applying annualisation factors are that, for our 18 Case Study Areas, we estimate the annual number of destitute households is 107,258 compared with the weekly number of 19,357[26].

The analysis reported so far includes those Local Welfare Funds (LWFs) which participated in the survey, but not those which did not. A separate allowance is made for these in reaching our global destitution numbers estimate, based on data obtained mainly by FOI from the remaining CSA authorities which have a LWF but where this did not participate. These figures are added in to the annual totals, but are not directly included in the detailed grossed up analysis from the Census. We assume their characteristics, particularly their propensity to be destitute, is similar to that of the LWFs which were surveyed. Their impact on total numbers would be to raise the weekly number to 21,669 and the annual number to 120,046

[26] These figures *include* the adjustment to full-LA basis for Wiltshire and County Durham, but exclude allowance for LWAFs not included in survey.

From local to national

The final step is to get from our 16 Case Study Areas to the whole of the UK. To make this step we have to bring other evidence to bear. The question is, what share of the national total of destitute households would we expect to find in each particular CSA, and more critically, what share in the group of 18 CSAs as a whole[27]? To address this question, we use the composite predictive indices of severe poverty and destitution risk described in section 3.4 above (with further detail in Appendix E). These indicators give a robust, well-evidenced estimate of the expected proportion and number of households experiencing destitution. A broader description of their geographical pattern of variation and how our CSA's sit within that is given in Section 5.

For this geographical measure of destitution, and for matching the indicators-based approach to the destitution census survey results, we use the *weekly based snapshot* of destitution, but distinguishing the three analytical groups. As described in the previous section, the indicators are roughly calibrated on this basis. We also regard the weekly estimates from the destitution census survey as more robust, because they do not rely upon the substantial amount of imputation which is necessary to generate the annualization factors, and are less susceptible to the tendency for some of these factors to be quite large.

In making our national estimate of the total numbers destitute, we 'anchor' the precise final scaling of the predictive indices so that they give the 'right' predicted number for our case study areas taken as a group, that is, the number that we actually found in our Census survey (grossed up for the week). We use the three detailed indices for the three destitution groups (migrants, complex needs, other UK) and control the total for each group to the weekly total for the 17 CSAs in GB (N Ireland is done separately). Allowance is made for the LWF numbers in those LA;s where they exist but did not participate in the survey. The final proportional adjustment factors needed were as follows:

- Migrants 0.786
- Complex Needs 0.924
- Other UK 0.988

The fact that these numbers are not that distant from 1.00 indicates that our judgemental process for weighting the indices was not far adrift from the real situation.

The fact that we are applying a common proportional adjustment factor for each group merits fuller comment and justification. In the 2015 survey, we applied different grossing up factors for broad groups of cases depending whether they were high or low in terms of expected destitution level. However, since the sample of 10 areas had very light representation of lower-destitution areas, it was difficult to draw conclusions

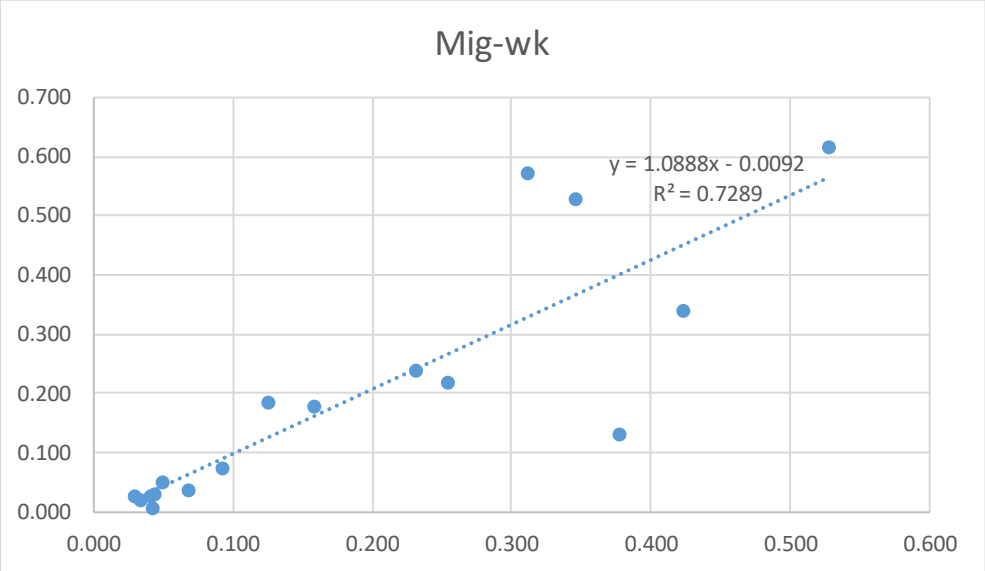
[27] In practice, we estimate this for Great Britain as a whole related to the 17 CSAs in GB, with a separate estimate for Northern Ireland based on the simpler index used there.

on the nature of the relationship between area socio-economic characteristics and destitution levels. Is it reasonable to assume that destitution rises proportionally with scores on our predictive indices, or is there a non-linear element to this relationship? Would an area with a close to zero score on our predictive indices have any destitution – or to put the point in a more technical way, would a linear relationship between predicted and actual destitution have a significant constant term?

Given the extension of the number of CSAs in 2017, and again in 2019, and the deliberate 'rebalancing' of the sample achieved thereby, we are in a better position to assess this now. We have compared the expected destitution rates in each of the three groups, based on the indices, with the actual rates found in our 2019 survey, based on weekly grossed numbers. The easiest way to present these comparisons is using scatterplots with superimposed the linear regression line which shows the relationship. In these diagrams the vertical Y axis measures the census survey based destitution rate while the horizontal X axis represents the secondary index based destitution rate for the group in question.

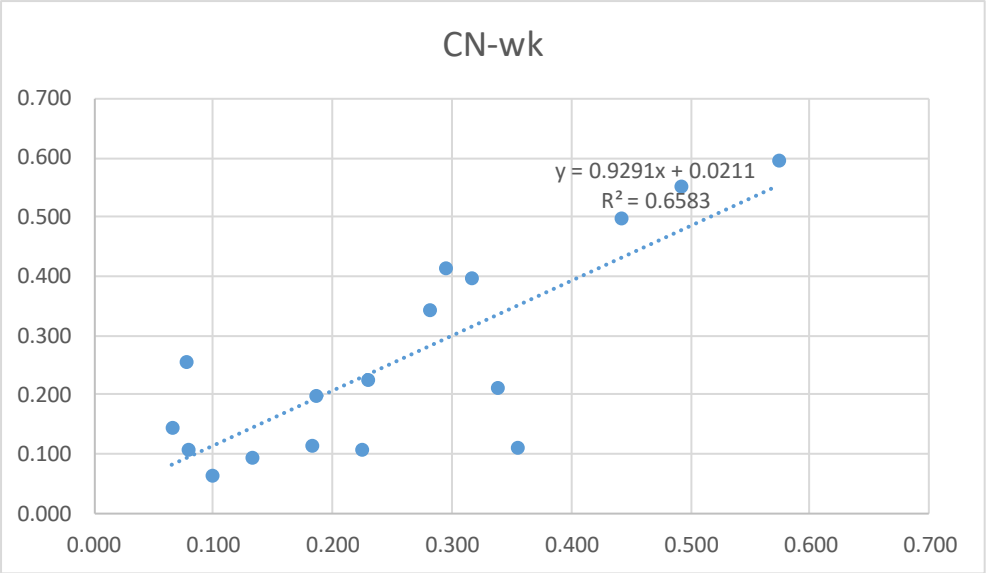
Figure 4.1: Survey-based vs indicator-based destitution rates by destitution group, showing linear regression relationship

(a) Migrants

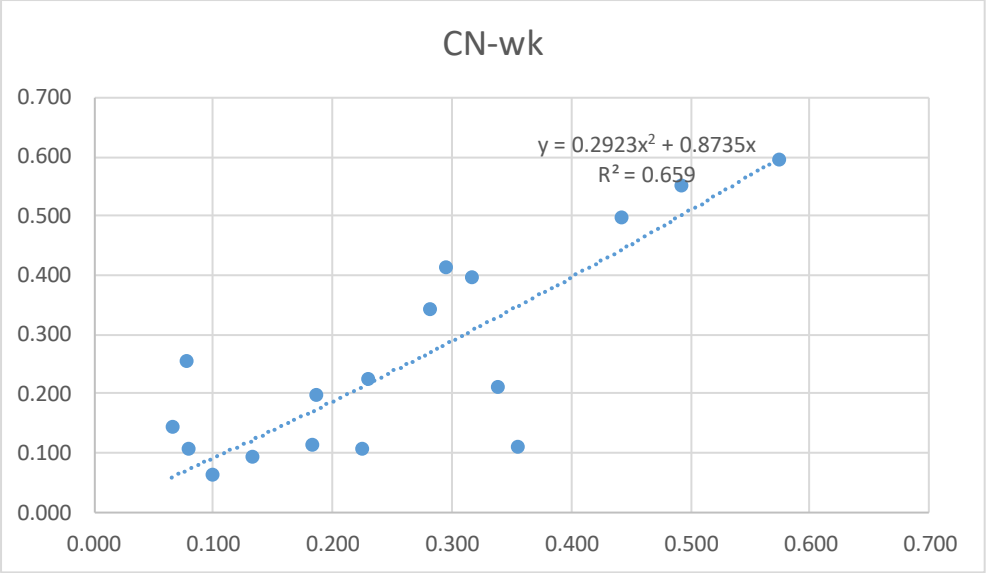


(b) Complex Needs

- linear version

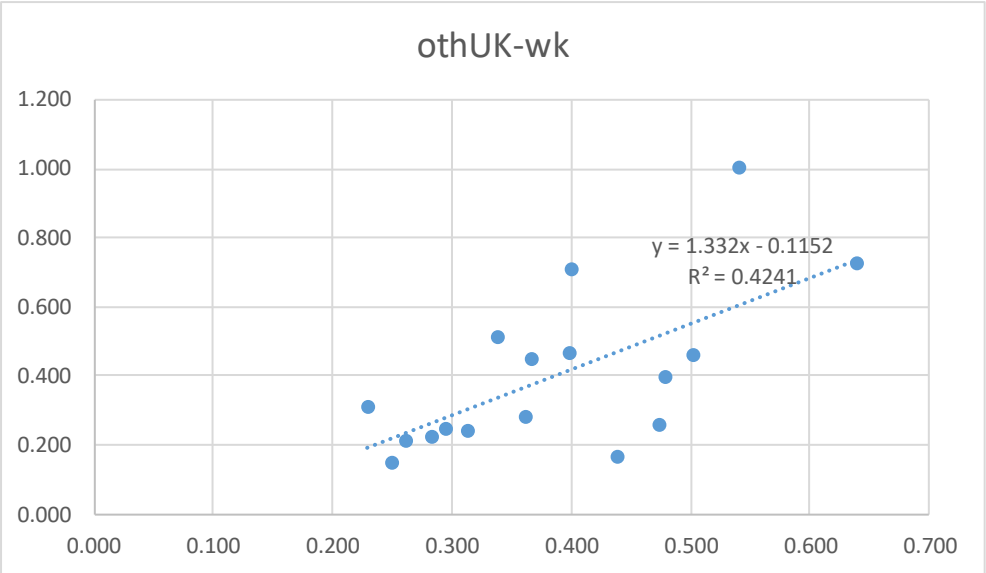


- *Non-linear version*

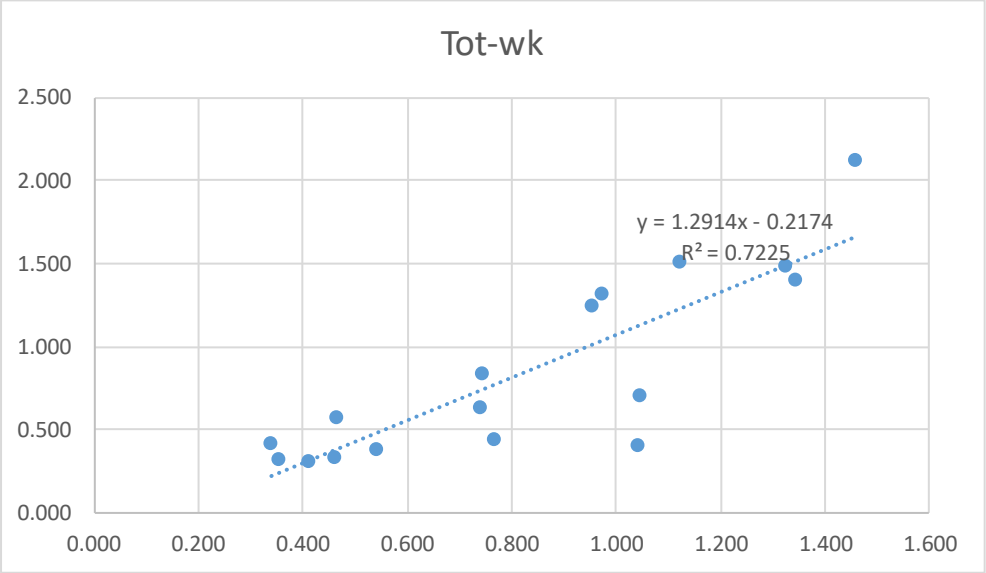


Note: in this case the regression line is using a quadratic form with no constant, which may be preferred for this group.

c) *Other Uk*



(d) Total Destitution



Our main conclusion from this set of Figures is that there is a reasonable relationship between census survey-based destitution and predicted index-based destitution for these 17 local authority areas, and that this relationship is generally linear and proportional, or close to being so. Each figure shows considerable scatter of the destitution rates derived from the Census survey (vertical axis) around the expected rates derived from the predictive indices. This is inevitable and expected given the highly clustered sampling of relatively few agencies within each case study area, along with the great variation in size of agencies. Allowing for this point, the degree of scatter

is in line with expectations. In each case, the fit of the regression line is markedly better than in 2017, with generally the 'b' coefficient being close to 1.00 and the constant being close to zero.

For migrant destitution, the fit of the regression line is markedly better than in 2017 (r-sq 0.73 vs. 0.59 in 2007) and the constant is quite close to zero, with a slope of 1.09. The high outlier is Camden, with Nottingham nearby, the low outlier is Ealing, and the CSA at the top-right corner is Newham, as we would expect.

For complex needs, there is again a good fit (r-sq 0.66, vs 0.55 in 2017), a moderate positive constant and a slope of 0.93. There is some case in theory, and from the appearance of the data that this relationship might be somewhat non-linear increasing, perhaps because concentration of SMD population leads to interactions which increase the risk of destitution. However, as shown, a simple quadratic model with no constant is not very different and the fit is not appreciably improved. The highest case on observed and predicted is Nottingham and the low outlier in the middle range is Fife.

On the issue of non-linearity, it is worth reiterating that an important part of the index used to predict complex needs is the composite of three actual administrative datasets covering the three key domains of offending, substance misuse and single homelessness, from the *Hard Edges* study (Bramley et al 2015, 2020). This analysis showed clearly that complex needs (or 'SMD') existed in all localities, which cautions against any assumption that there might be districts with zero complex needs, and we would not be warranted in claiming that from a couple of CSAs within a set of 17. In 2017 there was a very low value from the survey near the horizontal axis for East and North Herts, but it is noteworthy that this value is now clearly positive and not far from the predicted value.

The figure c), which looks at the larger 'other UK Group', shows a somewhat less good fit, albeit greatly improved on 2017 (r-squared of 0.42, vs 0.22) and a coefficient of above 1.0 (1.33) with a modest negative constant. The high outliers are Nottingham and Swansea the low outlier is Ealing. We did remove the two weakest/least well correlated components from this index, as noted above.

The final figure looks at the relationship of total destitution to the combined index prediction. The overall fit is good (r-squared 0.72, vs 0.49) with a slope rather over one (1.29) and a moderate negative constant (-0.22). The highest actual and predicted case is Nottingham and the low outlier is Ealing. We also tested a nonlinear function for this, and this would increase fit somewhat. However, since we are predicting each sub-group separately this would not be used in our generation of national estimates.

Having reviewed these relationships at the level of case study local authorities, it is important to underline again that we would not expect anything like precise match of the census survey rates with the predicted rates. The reasons for this lie primarily in

the very clustered nature of the sample of agencies combined with the very variable scale and character of agencies. This issue is discussed further in Appendix E.

To conclude this section, we have demonstrated that, allowing for the inevitable sampling variance associated with the census survey, there is in fact a good relationship between predicted/expected and actual destitution, in each of the three groups and overall. Further, we have shown that this relationship is essentially linear and proportional, or close to that. Consequently, we are justified in applying uniform multiplier factors to get from our estimates for 17 CSAs to estimates for the whole of GB. Furthermore, we can have confidence in using the predictive indices to map the expected incidence of destitution across the country at local authority level, as considered further in the next section.

Table 4.1 shows the weekly total numbers from the survey and the implied national numbers, given the above relationships. It shows the multipliers linking the CSA numbers to the national numbers, making a distinction between GB and UK – Northern Ireland uses a simpler index which implies that the whole province destitution number would be only 3.92 times the Belfast number. In simple terms, national destitution is around 8.75 times the number found in our 18 CSAs. However the multipliers are higher for Other UK (c.9.5), but lower for migrant destitution (c.7.3). This difference reflects the fact that our CSAs still rather over-represent areas with a higher presence of destitute migrants.

Table 4.1: Weekly Destitution Numbers and National Multipliers for Great Britain and UK, 2017

Table 4.1	Migrant	Complex Need	UK Other	All Destitute
18 CSA's weekly	4,671	6,416	10,582	21,669
GB total weekly	33,236	54,226	98,464	185,927
UK total weekly	34,299	55,721	100,767	190,787
GB national multiplier	7.41	9.12	10.41	9.33
NI nat multiplier	3.92	3.92	3.92	3.92
UK nat multiplier	7.34	8.69	9.52	8.75

One other point to be made in passing about this table is that it also provides a basis for generating certain other numbers which may be of policy interest from our destitution survey results, for example the number of rough sleepers.

Build-up of national annual numbers

Bringing together the different parts of the analysis discussed in this section, we can see how we get from census survey numbers of respondents found destitute to national annual numbers. Table 4.2 below summarises the steps.

To get from weekly destitute respondents in the survey (2,682) to weekly total destitute households in the 18 CSAs, we apply the weekly grossing weighting factor, which allows for (a) the probability that a service was selected for inclusion in the survey (0.38 on average) and (b) response rate within the selected service (average 63%), giving a total of 21,669. To get from weekly to annual we apply the annual multiplier factors, derived as described earlier in this chapter to take account multiple use of services over the year. This lifts the total to 121,433 (remembering, the average annual multiplier is around 5.5). We then apply the national multipliers derived from the analysis of the secondary indicators, calibrated to fit the levels found through the census survey, which are on average around 8.75, to obtain the national annual number of households affected (1,062,396).

It is worth pointing out at this point that our estimates of destitution rates or numbers are not precisely comparable with official and survey-based estimates of poverty under different definitions, in terms of the time dimension. Poverty measures are based on primarily on income information which refers to time periods which may vary between different types of respondent and income category, some being for the most recent payment period (e.g. monthly) and some averaged over longer periods. Similar comments apply to other poverty related measures such as expenditure or material deprivation. To summarise, our weekly estimates are probably reflective of a shorter time frame than typical poverty measures, whereas our annual estimates are reflective of a longer period than such measures.

Households, people and children

The national estimates are derived primarily in terms of numbers of households. However, the census survey asked about family composition, so we can also generate total numbers of people and children affected within these family or 'minimal household units'. A point to bear in mind, however, is that quite significant numbers within the destitute population are not living within private households, because they are staying in hostels, shelters or other temporary or institutional accommodation, or sleeping rough[28]. Some may also be staying temporarily with friends or relatives ('sofa surfing'). These situations apply particularly to the UK complex needs group, as can be seen from the low ratio of persons and children to households in this group in Table 4.2.

The headline numbers derived in this way are that for the UK over the year 2019 there would be 1,062,000 destitute households involving 2,338,000 people of whom 552,000 are children. These raw numbers are up by 35%, 54% and 52% on the 2017 findings. Approximately 19% of the increase in the first three rows can be attributed to

[28] Care is needed to discount some responses from people staying in communal accommodation who recorded unusually high numbers of adults or children living with them, or who did not indicate that they were living with family.

the inclusion of the two extra London CSAs – however this should be balanced by the reduced national multipliers used to get to row 4.

Table 4.2: Build-up of Destitution Numbers from Case Study Sample Survey to National Annual Households and People, by Destitution Group, UK 2017

Area	Basis	Migrants	Complex Needs	UK Other	All Destitute
	Destitute				
18 CSAs	respondents	717	752	1213	2682
18 CSAs	Weekly households	4,671	6,416	10,582	21,669
18 CSAs	Annual households	28,466	21,653	71,314	121,433
UK	Annual households	209,017	188,057	679,071	1,062,396
UK	Annual persons	505,738	286,502	1,596,175	2,388,415
UK	Annual children	132,503	21,906	397,884	552,293
	Share of hhd	19.7%	17.7%	63.9%	100.0%
	ratio persons: hhd	2.42	1.52	2.35	2.25
	ratio children:hhd	0.63	0.12	0.59	0.52
	ratio UK to 18 CSAs	7.34	8.69	9.52	8.75
	Changes 2017-19				
	Share of hhds	4.4%	2.0%	-5.1%	0.0%
	ratio persons: hhd	0.01	0.10	0.35	0.28
	ratio children:hhd	-0.10	-0.04	0.12	0.06

We showed earlier, in Table 3.2.1, that weekly household numbers for the agencies which were the same in both years were up by 23%; the discrepancy with the 35% here may be to do with agencies which came newly into the survey to replace other ones, or to do with the additional London case studies including the fact that London has much more migrant and SMD destitution. In Table 3.2.1 the 'same agencies' comparison showed a strong growth in destitute migrant households, but this growth appears even stronger in the annual figures at around 74%. The biggest discrepancy is in the complex need group, where the same agencies weekly figures were only up 8% whereas the annual households appear to be up by over 50%. This may be partly affected by London but it also reflects an upward movement in the annual multipliers for this group, whereas in the UK Other group the annual multipliers are lower, giving an increase in households of just 25% (the same as the 'same agencies') comparison.

Table 4.2 confirms that, when considered on a national annual basis, the UK–other group still dominates destitution, accounting for 64% of the total of households affected. However, this is down by 5% points on 2017, as migrants' share has risen by 4.4% points to nearly 20%, while complex needs have risen by 2% points to nearly 18%.

While national annual households appear to be up by 35%, numbers of persons and children destitute are up by more than 50%. That is because the household size of

destitute households has increased, in both the complex need and UK Other categories.

5 Geography of Destitution

The indicators developed from secondary data sources to predict the incidence of destitution in Britain, having been calibrated to correspond well on average with the findings from the census survey, can also be used to provide an overall account of the geography of destitution in contemporary Britain. In this section we summarise this pattern, considering first regions, then types of local authority, before looking at our case study authorities set within the context of the overall ranking of local authorities in Britain.

Table 5.1 looks at destitution rates by region and country. For reasons given in the previous section, these are weekly rates, expressed as a percentage of households.

Table 5.1: Destitution rates by region and country and by destitution group, Great Britain 2019 (weekly, % of households)

Government Office Region	Migrant pdestmig19	Complex Need pdestsmd19e	UK Other pdestgen19f	All Destitute pdestall19f
NORTH EAST	0.13	0.35	0.51	1.04
YORKS & HUMBER	0.13	0.22	0.43	0.77
NORTH WEST	0.14	0.29	0.44	0.87
EAST MIDLANDS	0.10	0.19	0.34	0.63
WEST MIDLANDS	0.13	0.21	0.42	0.76
SOUTH WEST	0.06	0.17	0.30	0.53
EAST	0.08	0.13	0.32	0.53
SOUTH EAST	0.08	0.14	0.29	0.51
LONDON	0.26	0.23	0.38	0.88
Wales	0.10	0.14	0.40	0.65
Scotland	0.10	0.21	0.45	0.76
Total	0.12	0.20	0.38	0.71

The average rate of destitution has risen since 2017 in all three cases, but more particularly in the case of migrants and UK other.

Overall, the range of variations between regions is between 0.51 in the South East and 1.04 in the North East. Rates are relatively high and have risen more in the less prosperous North East (especially) and North West of England, Yorkshire and Humber and the West Midlands. London has also risen but is no longer the highest region, and the North West now has a very similar rate. Rates are relatively lower in the more prosperous South East, East and South West of England, although even here they have risen. Wales has risen faster than these regions although it remains below the national average, while Scotland maintains its position above the GB average, now on a par with Yorkshire-Humber and the West Midlands.

While London is highest for migrants (double the average), it is not highest for complex needs, which are markedly higher in the North East and North West. Again the East and South East are lowest. For 'UK-other' destitution, six regions/countries are higher than London, which sits on the national average rate. The highest for this group is again the North East (again by quite a wide margin), followed by Scotland and the North West. The range of inter-regional variation is greater for migrant destitution and for complex needs and rather less for UK other.

Table 5.2 looks at a standard ONS classification of local authorities (2001, v.1`), taking the middle 'group' level. These have been ranked in order from highest to lowest overall destitution rate.

Table 5.2: Destitution rates by ONS Local Authority Group and destitution group, Great Britain 2017 (weekly, % of households)

Mean lagrp11desc	Migrant pdestmig19	Complex Need pdestsmd19e	UK Other pdestgen19f	All Destitute pdestall19f
Business and Education Centres	0.24	0.37	0.49	1.10
London Cosmopolitan Central	0.28	0.39	0.38	1.05
London Cosmopolitan Suburbia	0.33	0.21	0.44	0.98
Manufacturing Traits	0.16	0.29	0.45	0.90
Multicultural Suburbs	0.26	0.14	0.38	0.78
Coastal Resorts and Services	0.06	0.28	0.38	0.72
Mining Heritage	0.07	0.22	0.42	0.72
Growth Areas and Cities	0.14	0.20	0.38	0.71
Rural Scotland	0.04	0.21	0.46	0.71
Heritage Centres	0.12	0.18	0.33	0.63
Rural Coastal and Amenity	0.03	0.10	0.31	0.43
Rural England	0.04	0.08	0.28	0.41
Rural Hinterland	0.04	0.06	0.28	0.37
Prosperous England	0.06	0.06	0.25	0.37
Rural Northern Ireland, Remoter Scotland and Glasgow Suburbs	0.03	0.04	0.26	0.33
Total	0.12	0.20	0.38	0.71

Business and Education Centres (core cities mainly in the north) are now the type of locality with the highest overall destitution rate, displacing central London, with London Cosmopolitan Suburbia again coming in third position. Manufacturing Traits have also risen one place up the ranking, another aspect of the relative worsening in the northern regions, with Multicultural Suburbs moving down a place. Coastal resorts and Services

and Mining Heritage have moved up relative to Growth Areas and Cities, which now have an average rate of destitution. Heritage, rural and prosperous England areas dominate the lower part of the table, as in 2017.

The core cities are top on UK Other and near the top on Complex Needs, but in the case of Migrant destitution London Cosmopolitan Suburbia is well above the level of the core cities, and indeed ten times higher than Rural and Remote Scotland. Manufacturing Traits and Coastal Resorts and Services come quite high on Complex Needs, after the core cities and Central London. Again there is a difference of almost ten times between the lowest and highest category. UK Other, by contrast, shows a difference of only two times in its rate between lowest and highest categories, suggesting that these types of problem are more pervasive across the wider population.

We can drill further down into the picture of destitution in different types of locality by looking at a table which places all local authorities in decile groups for destitution overall and for the three sub-domains. Table 5.3 below shows the top twenty local authorities on overall destitution, while Appendix G shows the whole table. The overall values in this table are those used in the map in the main report[29].

The 'top twenty' group of authorities include three of our case studies, Nottingham, Glasgow and Newham, the first two of which are asylum dispersal areas although not as high on migrant destitution as Newham, which has the highest rate for this of any authority. This group includes only four London boroughs (all on the eastern side), one Scottish city, eight northern/midland cities and four northern manufacturing towns which are all generally associated with high levels of social and economic deprivation. Their predicted destitution rates are 1.7-2.6 times the average. One of the northern cities is a seaside resort (Blackpool), which interestingly has a low score on migrant destitution, while having the highest score nationally on complex needs. Several of the others are ports (Liverpool, Hull, Hartlepool). Only one southern city features in this top group – Norwich. This reflects a high score on complex needs, and quite high on the more general poverty-related 'UK-other' group. Lincoln is a similar case, ranked 21.

Within the North East, the Teeside sub-region is badly affected, with three of its four authorities in the top twenty, including the worst case (Middlesbrough) which is also the poorest authority in the DWPs new child poverty measure. Three Greater Manchester authorities are also in the top twenty.

Other relatively highly-ranked case study local authorities include Camden (30), high on migrants and complex needs Peterborough (40) and Ealing (41) (also high on migrants). Swansea (52) is rather high on migrants (asylum dispersal area) while

[29] In the 2017 reports, individual local authority values published were decile positions in each index (weighted for size). It is likely that the same procedure will be followed in 2019, although there is some value in seeing the absolute level of the indicators, particularly at the extremes.

Bournemouth (56) is another seaside town very high on complex needs, and there are other seaside towns have higher scores including Hastings (28), Torbay (77), Thanet (78) Brighton & Hove (90).

Fife (102), Kirklees (109) and County Durham (110) are large mixed case study areas ranked somewhat above average in predicted destitution. Fife is relatively low on migrant issues but higher on complex need, while Kirklees is moderately high on migrant and general poverty issues, with Durham higher on complex need and general poverty. Cheshire West and Chester sits close to the middle of the ranking, with relatively low presence of migrant destitution but average level of complex need.

Bexley (221), our other new London CSA, is ranked quite low for a London borough, with moderate migrant and complex needs but a bit more poverty than some other outer boroughs. Herefordshire (223), our most rural case study, sits about 30% below the average overall; it tends to have low general 'UK-other' poverty issues, but slightly more migrant and complex need issues than other rural areas. Rother (229), another partly rural and coastal area in East Sussex with a lot of retired people, is grouped with Lewes (276) which is a bit more affluent

Our more prosperous non-metropolitan southern England case study areas comprise East-North Herts (304) which are London commuter areas, along with Wiltshire (292) which is similarly ranked alongside some very rural and affluent suburban areas.

Lastly, the table in Appendix G shows local authorities in the lowest decile overall and on the UK-other index, although sometimes slightly higher on migrant issues. Here rates of destitution are not much above a third of the national average, less than one sixth of the rates in the top group. These comprise affluent rural (mainly southern) and a couple of island authorities.

Table 5.3: Top twenty local authorities in predicted destitution rates, showing rates for each component and overall (percent of households, weekly snapshot, 2019)

Rank	Destitution Rates by 3 main analytical groups by Local Authority Lad11name	Migrant pdestmig19	Complex Need pdestsmd19e	UK Other pdestgen19f	All Destitute pdestall19f
1	Middlesbrough	0.35	0.79	0.70	1.84
2	Manchester	0.35	0.61	0.58	1.54
3	Kingston upon Hull, City of	0.21	0.58	0.74	1.53
4	Liverpool	0.29	0.55	0.64	1.48
5	Newcastle upon Tyne	0.37	0.53	0.57	1.47
6	Nottingham	0.34	0.57	0.54	1.46
7	Blackpool	0.03	0.86	0.56	1.45
8	Salford	0.35	0.38	0.64	1.37
9	Norwich	0.21	0.63	0.52	1.36
10	Glasgow City	0.42	0.28	0.64	1.34
11	Stoke-on-Trent	0.26	0.54	0.55	1.34
12	Newham	0.53	0.30	0.50	1.33
13	Blackburn with Darwen	0.21	0.51	0.59	1.31
14	Rochdale	0.28	0.51	0.51	1.30
15	Leicester	0.38	0.45	0.47	1.30
16	Haringey	0.39	0.42	0.43	1.24
17	Barking and Dagenham	0.47	0.24	0.51	1.23
18	Hartlepool	0.18	0.42	0.60	1.21
19	Tower Hamlets	0.28	0.47	0.47	1.21
20	Stockton-on-Tees	0.30	0.39	0.52	1.21

6 Qualitative Interviews

Sample size

In our original proposal to JRF, we had envisaged, as in 2017, conducting 40 individual semi-structured interviews with a purposively selected sample of survey respondents who were 'destitute' (as per our definition) and agreed to be re-contacted for interview. However, in recognition of our commitment to GLA, associated with the additional funding for the study that the Authority confirmed in November 2019, we expanded that number to 50 interviews in total: 20 in London and 30 outside of the capital.

The original purpose of these interviews was, again as in 2017, to explore the experiences of, and impacts on, the people directly affected by destitution, and to place this extreme experience in the broader context of people's lifecourse 'journeys' through varying degrees of hardship. However, between the conduct of the quantitative survey (autumn 2019) and the commencement of the qualitative fieldwork (spring 2020) the COVID-19 crisis hit the UK and much of the rest of the globe.

In consultation with our funders, we therefore made the decision to pivot the qualitative research entirely to focus on the impact of the pandemic and the associated economic lockdown on people who were destitute when we surveyed them in October/November 2019. As we were concerned to identify the COVID-related impacts on all three of our main analytical sub-groups - 'UK-other', complex needs and migrants – this made reaching ‘saturation’ across a very diverse set of populations and geographies with only 50 interviews very challenging. In response, JRF agreed some additional funding in April 2020 to enable us to expand the qualitative sample to 70 interviews in total. Increasing the overall number of interviews in this way eased sampling dilemmas, and enabled us to deliver better in-depth analysis of sub-groups of interest, as noted below.

Sampling strategy

The essential criteria for inclusion in the qualitative interview sample was that a census respondent had:

1) Met our definition of "destitute" at the point of the Census Survey;
   AND
2) Has agreed to be re-contacted for interview, and had provided their name and relevant contact details.
   AND
3) Had completed an English language questionnaire in the Census. (This limitation on scope was applied because we had no capacity for interpreting services at the qualitative interview stage. This left in scope about 2/3 of EEA migrant survey respondents and around half of asylum seekers/refugees).

Beyond these essential criteria for inclusion, the sampling strategy was aimed at delivering good overall sample sizes in each of the three main analytical subgroups (i.e. achieving around 20 complex needs interviews, 20 migrant interviews, and 30 UK-other interviews), while recognizing JRF's particular policy interests in the UK-other group (and within that, working and family households), and also the concentration of homelessness (an important aspect of complex needs) and the migrant subgroup in London. The idea was therefore to split the sample broadly in two - 35 interviews in London and 35 interviews outside of London – with a slight balance towards migrants and complex needs in London, and towards UK-other outside London.

For data protection and privacy reasons, there was a two-step process for identification of qualitative interviewees. The HWU team identified case IDs that fulfilled the selection criteria above, and Kantar supplied the contact details corresponding to these IDs in batches matching the six broad sampling groups identified (i.e. the three main analytical sub-groups, split between inside/outside London). The IDs were stripped out from the contact details supplied so that HWU couldn't link an individual with their questionnaire response.

We applied some weighting to deliberately increase the odds of certain smaller but important groups being included in the case IDs that we requested contact details for from Kantar. Thus, within all three main analytical subgroup categories, we boosted the odds of interviewing these (overlapping) groups of particular policy interest:

- people facing 'in work' destitution;
- families with dependent children (aiming for this group to constitute around one-third of the sample overall);
- women (again aiming for around one third overall).

Within the migrant category, we sought a relatively even split between the three key migrant subgroups: asylum seekers/refugees; EEA migrants; other migrants. Previous experience had indicated that we could more readily secure interviews with asylum seekers than either of the other two subgroups, so we boosted the probability of selection of these latter groups.

A short 'post interview checklist' (see below and Appendix H) was completed and entered into a common spreadsheet after each interview to record key interviewee characteristics. This allowed the achieved sample to be monitored on an ongoing basis and any required adjustments made to demographic and other sampling priorities as fieldwork proceeded. Analysis of this spreadsheet informed not only activities in the field, but also the criteria used in drawing additional samples when our initial batches (especially in London) were exhausted.

In the end, more than a third (in fact almost half) of our interviewees were women (34) (see Table 6.1). Forty-four interviewees were single people, with the remainder living with a partner and dependent children (9), as a lone parent (15), or as couple without dependent children (2). This means that families with dependent children constituted

around a third of the total sample, as desired. The sample was relatively evenly split between those aged between 25 and 45 years old (35) and those aged over 45 (29), with only six interviewees aged under 25 years old. This means that, as in 2017, people under 25 were somewhat under-represented amongst our interviewees. Strikingly, 41 out of the 71 participants in the qualitative interviews reported a disability[30]. We also succeeded in attaining a good-sized sample of people who had been in paid work in the past 12 months (31). There was a slight preponderance of interviewees outside of London (38 as compared with 32 in the capital). Two-thirds (47) of the total qualitative sample were destitute at point of interview (all had been destitute in Oct-Nov 2019 on the basis of their questionnaire response in the main survey). .

The composition of our achieved sample was evenly split between the UK-other group (27) and complex needs group (27), with the migrant (without complex needs) group somewhat smaller (16). However, bearing in mind that 7 of the complex needs group were migrants, this still provides a good sized sample of non-UK nationals for analysis (23), within which there is a reasonably even split between the three migrant subgroupings (7 asylum, 7 EEA and 9 other migrant). The complex needs subgroup was a little larger, and the other two other subgroups correspondingly a little smaller, than was intended mainly because additional complex needs were sometimes identified during the interview process, leading to cases being reclassified.

[30] This compares with 54% of all destitute respondents in the main 2019 survey; this question was not included in the main destitution questionnaire in 2017.

Table 6.1 Composition of the sample *(n=70)*

		Number
Gender	Male	36
	Female	34
Age	Under 25	6
	25-45	35
	Over 45	29
Disability	No	41
	Yes	29
London	No	38
	Yes	32
Household type	Single	44
	Lone parent	15
	Couple no children	2
	Couple with child(ren)	9
Nationality / migration origin	UK National	47
	EEA migrant	7
	Asylum	7
	Other migrant	9
Three main groups	UK-other	27
	Complex needs	27 (20 UK Nationals, 7 migrants)
	Migrants (no complex needs)	16
Currently destitute	No	23
	Yes	47
In paid work in past 12 months	No	39
	Yes	31

Conduct of the interview

All interviews were conducted by telephone. The fieldwork was conducted over May-June 2019, and so in the midst of the COVID lockdown. This meant approaching the fieldwork with particular sensitivity. We thus texted/emailed potential interviewees in advance, using the text in Appendix I by way of introduction/reminder and opportunity to opt out. A further opportunity to opt out was explicitly provided in the COVID-sensitive opening blurb used when we called to arrange an interview a few days later (see topic guide in Appendix G). After interview, we texted in the user-friendly language in Appendix I to thank interviewees, send them their voucher, and remind them of their right to withdraw their data under GDPR.

All interviewees were given £20 in vouchers. The onset of COVID meant that online vouchers had to be used which were associated with considerable practical difficulties, including problems encountered by several interviewees in spending their vouchers in the relevant supermarkets. Strenuous efforts were made by the HWU to resolve these difficulties, adding to the stress of an already emotionally and logistically demanding project.

As can be seen from the topic guide (Appendix G), the interviews focused on participants' current living situation, their economic/income status, their access to essentials, services and IT, and the impacts of COVID on their health, well-being and relationships. As we didn't have access to the questionnaire responses of interviewees (we only knew the broad sampling category to which they belonged), and in any case we had to update key factual information on various domains of their lives, a range of questions from the survey questionnaire were included in the topic guide. We also used a short version of the survey questionnaire as a 'post interview checklist' to ensure that any of these points not picked up naturally in the semi-structured discussion were covered before the interview was closed (see Appendix H). Crucially, we needed to work out if participants remained destitute at the point of interview. This involved asking a number of questions from the survey questionnaire that encapsulated our formal definition, alongside the use of a crib sheet that captured the updated income thresholds (again see Appendix H). We also included some specific questions for migrants.

The interviews were fully transcribed (with permission) and analysed using Nvivo software, applying the coding frame attached in Appendix J.

7 Future research and updating

What lessons can be learned from this third Destitution study about future research into the scale and profile of destitution in the UK? We believe that the basic design of the approach, sampling crisis service users, a self-completion census-type survey, and utilisation of an array of secondary data indicators to fill out the national picture, has again proven to be sound and has demonstrated its worth.

Improvements to methodology from 2017

In 2017 we managed to improve our methodology by extending our work to a wider range of case study sites, enabling us to better capture better-off and 'middle England'. We also included in the study scope (insofar as possible) the most relevant statutory service provided by local authorities (LWFs). These were two of the key improvements we highlighted that we would like to make after the original 2015 study. We also suggested after the original study that in any update the budget should be increased to enable research staff to be present in the sampled services throughout all or most of their opening times during the survey week, to encourage and assist service users to complete the questionnaire. The involvement of Kantar Public in leading on the fieldwork for the census survey largely enabled us to achieve this in both 2017 and 2019 and will have contributed to the improved coverage and information about total service users.

We were also able to take the opportunity in 2017 to make some detailed improvements to the questionnaire, including additional questions inserted on living/accommodation circumstances, and additional/more detailed questions inserted on experiences over the past 12 months including serious physical health problems, alcohol or drugs problems, mental health problems and getting in trouble with the police. Improved wording was used on income, and a different approach was adopted to the question about 'use of other services', after careful cognitive testing. We feel that the questionnaire worked very well in 2017, and therefore we retained it in its current form in the 2019 survey to enhance comparability and trends analysis.

The only incremental changes in 2019 were to add two specific questions (on Universal Credit, and on disability/limiting health conditions) and to implement minor adjustment to income bands relating to the updating of destitution thresholds as discussed in Appendix A.

Overall we believe the model as refined in 2017 and consolidated in 2019 works well and would merit repeating periodically in future.

Direct qualitative evidence on post-Covid experiences

The qualitative phase of this Destitution Research has been conducted following the onset of the Covid pandemic and lockdown. Therefore the planned focus and content of the qualitative interviews was, by agreement with JRF, wholly recast to focus on how this population of households, who were destitute in the autumn of 2019, have been coping in the changed conditions of mid 2020. We have retained the structure of the three main analytical groups to provide the structure for the reporting of the qualitative findings, so that there are in the main report chapters on Destitute Migrants, people with Complex Needs, and UK-Other households experiencing destitution. However, these chapters are more fully focused on the qualitative evidence on experiences post (as well as pre-) Covid, with less weaving in of quantitative evidence from the survey conducted in 2019. The key findings on the scale of destitution, its socio-demographic and geographic profile, background experiences, sources of support and housing circumstances are summarised in the main chapter based on this part of the research (Chapter 3).

Further possible developments in use or conduct of Destitution Surveys

In 2018 we conducted a feasibility scoping study commissioned by JRF in association with the Office of National Statistics (ONS), on the possibility of new, larger-scale official national survey(s), or adjustments to existing surveys, covering the 'non-household population' and addressing in particular issues of destitution/living standards and wellbeing. Such innovation could obviously cover a significant part of the target group and issues addressed in the *Destitution in the UK* studies. The scoping study was published in December 2018 (Bramley et al 2018, ONS 2018) but there has been no formal or comprehensive follow-up to it. However, some developments relating to homelessness, recounted below, do represent examples of some of the suggestions in that report.

This initiative overlaps to some extent with current efforts to improve the measurement and data collection relating to homelessness. However, in order to reflect key findings of this study about the extent of destitution among the 'housed' population, part of the agenda for improved official data collection probably involves both questions to be asked in the main official surveys and ways of increasing the coverage of groups who are either not covered in detail (e.g. absent or temporary household members) or groups who have a very low response or high attrition rate in such surveys.

Members of the Destitution Research team are involved with current research for Crisis on improving estimates of 'core homelessness' in Great Britain and developing projections and scenarios for future homelessness levels, building on Bramley (2018). The Destitution Surveys (2017 and 2019) are key inputs to this study, as exemplars of a systematic service user based survey approach, complementing approaches involving administrative data (particularly the H-CLIC and HL1 records of homeless applications to local authorities, also DWP data on housing benefit cases in short term

and supported accommodation) and retrospective questions in mainstream household surveys about housing difficulties and experiences of different forms of homelessness within the private household population. Two further complementary developments to mention in this context are the use of retrospective housing difficulties questions in the 2018 round of the Survey of Living Conditions, which is replicated across European countries, and a new suite of questions included in the 2018/19 English Housing Survey including retrospective reporting of 'sofa surfers' staying with host households, self-reported current or past use of temporary accommodation, and new analyses of 'concealed households'

One idea canvassed in planning the 2020 Destitution survey was to try to incorporate some statutory local services within the scope of the survey, beyond the LWFs which are already included to some extent. A prime candidate identified for such inclusion were the local authority homelessness and housing options services, particularly following the implementation of the Homelessness Reduction Act (HRA) across England from 2018, which brings many more of the higher risk single homeless group into scope for assistance with homeless prevention or relief. The potential cost and difficulty of doing this on a comprehensive basis, allowing for (a) the likely onerous data governance issues which would arise and (b) the pressure on homelessness services, militated against inclusion this time. A further attempt to use an extended version of the Destitution questionnaire in a small number of local authorities in early 2020, as part of the Crisis work on 'core homelessness', foundered with the onset of COVID-19, which led to all such survey fieldwork being suspended and also to a transformation of parts of the homeless service through use of hotel accommodation. Nevertheless, such an approach may be considered again in the future.

Modelling and predicting destitution

The I-SPHERE team involved in Destitution has also been involved in an ongoing 3-year project with the Trussell Trust called 'The State of Hunger', with a major report published in autumn 2019 (Sosenko et al 2019). This involves a range of survey instruments covering food bank users, managers, referral agencies, and key informants, analysis of secondary data on food voucher patterns, and econometric modelling of these patterns over time and space. A further project with Trussell Trust in 2020 has addressed the potential impact of the Covid emergency and particularly the economic shutdown and consequential recession on destitution and food bank user numbers and profiles. This research programme offers considerable synergies with the Destitution research, in terms of data, insights into trends and personal experiences, evidence on key policy proposals, and potentially useful models for forecasting and simulation. For example, we have been exploring four distinct approaches to modelling potential destitution and food bank demand. These include: a panel econometric model of food parcel demand at local authority level over 9 years; a static microsimulation based on UKHLS with inputs from both rapid statistical profiles and some macro and sectoral forecasts; macro and regional economic forecasts

linked to national and international models maintained by the National Institute for Economic and Social Research (NIESR); and experimental use of dynamic micro-simulation model known as ‘LINDA’ based at the same organisation.

Taken together with ongoing work on developing the framework for forecasting and testing policy impacts on core homelessness, as mentioned above, this offers the prospect of gaining a capacity to undertake more forward-looking policy simulations relating to destitution and its associated issues of severe poverty, homelessness, financial stress and debt, and their interface with varying levels of social support and ill health. We have already used some of these tools to test the potential impact of policy changes relating to Universal Credit personal allowances and LHA rent cap levels.

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APPENDIX A

UPDATING THE INCOME THRESHOLD AND BANDS

This Appendix briefly summarises what the research team have done in order to review and recommend possible adjustments to the income threshold part of the Destitution definition, and the associated issue of income bands to be included in the Questionnaire. While these needed to be settled at an early stage, one or two issues of concern were raised by comments from the team, particularly about the single adult benefit rate.

The income thresholds for destitution were set as part of the defining destitution stage of the research in late 2014 preparatory to the first survey in spring 2015. The thresholds were determined on the basis of three points of reference, with in principle equal weighting: (1) Living Cost and Food survey data on the mean amount households of given composition in the lowest decile of net equivalent income (BHC) spent on the 'essential items' (food, clothing, fuel, etc.); (2) 80% of MIS estimates of what households of given composition needed to spend on the essential items; (3) the median value of what respondents in the Omnibus survey said their household would need to stay out of destitution for each household size (number of persons). The original LCFS data was actually from 2012 but then repriced forward to 2014.

It is a moot point whether in principle this definition constitutes an 'absolute' or a 'relative' measure. Whereas mainstream poverty measures like ''60% AHC' are relative, some measures are effectively 'absolute' for shorter periods but subject to periodic review to reflect societal changes – e.g. consensual material deprivation, the 'absolute' poverty in HBAI, or indeed MIS. As we argued in our Interim report on The State of Hunger[31], destitution is closer to being an absolute concept anyway, in most people's minds.

In our view, it would be a mistake to index to either earnings or the benefit system uprating (or in the present circumstance, non-uprating). If government policies like the benefit freeze (combined with inflation) are pushing people into destitution, or working poverty, then we need to be able to show that up, if we can.

So, where we have a measure evidenced for 2014, but not later, as in the case of the Omnibus survey subjective values, we proposed simply adjusting this for an appropriate measure of inflation. Initially, we used CPI for this; subsequently we decided it would be more appropriate to use the index which a member of the team had constructed relating to consumption items relevant to the poorest group. This

[31] See Sosenko, F., Bramley, G., Fitzpatrick, S., & Littlewood, M. (2019) *The State of Hunger: Scoping out a Study of Poverty and Food Insecurity in the UK*. Interim report to Trussell Trust, and Sosenko et al (2019).

increased slightly less over the relevant period (4.8% vs. 6.0% 2014-18). If projecting on into 2019 we would simply have to use CPI, which would add 2%.

The MIS is subject to a regular (annual) updating as well as periodic review and refresh. The original analysis for 2015 was based on 2012 MIS repriced to 2014. We used the 2018 edition as this was published in fuller detail at the time of setting these values

With the LCFS, we downloaded and analysed the latest available dataset which was for 2017/18. There were some slight question marks about the classification systems and variable names but we have used those we believed to be the most closely comparable categories. The results generally show small increases in relevant spends over 2014, varying by household type. We used CPI to reprice this to 2018/19.

Some questions have been raised, in the context of recent work by IFS for JRF on different measures of severe poverty, including expenditure-based measures, about whether there is some downward drift over time in the proportion of expenditure which is actually being captured by the LCFS[32].

Overall, we believe that we have updated these three sources as best we can, with the data available at the time (July 2019). We recognise that there are some uncertainties and aspects which might be debated, but at the end of the day we are taking an average of three sources, rounding and applying in a questionnaire that itself has to use sensible rounded bands.

There were two remaining issues in updating the destitution income thresholds: the time period involved, and the application of rounding. We could update by four years (2014-2018), by five years (2014-12019), or by four-and-a-half years (late 2018 to early 2019). We favoured the latter, as this is closest to the true time interval between the surveys. With regard to rounding, it happens to be the case that in the original treatment we rounded up for each of the representative household types, to the nearest £5 per week (after combining with equal weight the three separate estimates, from LCFS, MIS and Omnibus). It would be more normal to round up or down to the nearest multiple of £5, and we would recommend doing that in general, so that is what has been done this time. However, we should also check that the percentage increases for the different household types look relatively consistent.

The results of the analysis following these decisions are summarised in Table 1. The full comparisons are made for four household composition categories. Other household types are derived from the rounded values by adding £20 for each extra child or £30 for each extra adult (the amounts suggested by the differences for the specific household types analysed).

[32] This needs to be referenced fully

The results suggest in summary that a small upward adjustment of the order of £5 pw is in order in most cases. Inflation had been generally low but with a bit of a spike following Brexit devaluation. MIS was not showing strong increases, and it had been argued that some essential goods like food have shown price reductions. We did look at evidence on this, looking at price changes within CPI components weighted to reflect spending patterns of the lowest 10% of households up to 2018. This suggests inflation for this group may have been c.2% points less than CPI over the relevant (four year) period

Table A.1: Re-estimation of destitution income thresholds for 2019 study

Household Compos	LCFS @2018	MIS 80% @ 2018	Omnibus @ 2018	Average @ 2018	Average @ 2018/19	Rounded	Previous @ 2014
One person hhd	58.4	62.3	95.1	71.2	72.3	70	70
Couple/2 person	117.8	90.3	100.3	101.8	103.3	105	100
1 adult 1 child	88.1	87.7	100.3	91.1	92.5	95	90
1 adlt 2 child						115	
2 adult 1 child						125	
3 adult 1 child						155	
2 adult 2 child	153.3	144.2	133.4	142.2	144.2	145	140
2 adult 3 child						165	
3 adult 2 child						175	
2 adult 4 child						185	

It will be noted that the suggested rounded value for one-person households would remain at £70. This is a consequence of the recommended decisions outlined above, relating to rounding and the time period of 4.5 years, but it might be queried. However, it did avoid the larger problems associated with exceeding the basic working age benefit rate for single adults over 25, which remained frozen at about £74 in 2019. This could have the effect of tipping quite a large number of additional people into destitution on the income criterion.

The actual income bands that were recommended to include in the questionnaire, following on from this, were as follows.

Table A.2 Recommended Bands

Recommended Bands for 2019
None at all
£1-£69 per week
£70-£99 per week
£100-£124 per week
£125 to £149 per week
£150 to £199 per week
£200 to £299 per week
Over £300 per week.

This fits tolerably well with most cases, and appears more regular and logical even than last time, although it involves one more band.

The question has been asked, as to how we deal with cases where the destitution threshold falls between the band levels used in the questionnaire. The proposed straightforward approach is to look to see which band divider the destitution threshold is closer to and then to 'snap onto' that value. This is equivalent to assuming a uniform distribution of incomes within the relevant band, and going with the majority position. This is better illustrated through examples

Example 1. Lone parent + 1 child, reporting income in band £70-£99; here the destitution threshold is £95 so, since we assume most cases like this (four-fifths, given a uniform distribution) will fall below this, we simply assume that they all do.

Example 2. Couple no children reporting income in band £100-124; here the destitution threshold is £105 so we assume that most cases (four-fifths again) would be above this, and simplify this to assuming that all such cases are not destitute on income.

This is effectively what we did in 2017.

It is particularly difficult/questionable to make these rather simple assumptions about uniform distributions in relation to the second-bottom income category (£1-74), where we would expect there to be clustering about the £74 mark, and about the £56 mark.

There is a further possible question mark, which would arise at the analysis stage, of whether we should adjust the income threshold for people staying in hostels etc, to remove the heat and light (fuel) component from their destitution income threshold. We could use the 80% of MIS values for this purpose. This would be likely to mainly affect single adults, many of whom may well be on the basic social security income level anyway, and it would be difficult to register much difference, unless we were to introduce a further, lower income band.

APPENDIX B: The survey questionnaire

The following is the Word English language version of the 2019 census survey questionnaire. Some specific service names are variable between case study areas, highlighted in yellow. These questionnaires were produced directly to PDF from the system used to generate them in Kantar Public. The version as reproduced here has minor variations in the detailed pagination and layout.

Getting by in the UK– a survey

We would like your help in research we are doing about what kinds of things people have to get by without. Heriot-Watt University and Kantar are doing the research for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, a charity that works to improve the situation of people in need. The questions should take about 10 minutes to answer, and if you need help, staff will assist you. The information that is collected will be used by Heriot-Watt University and Kantar only for research purposes and no individual will be identifiable from the published results. Participation is entirely voluntary and will not affect the service you receive in any way.

Q1. In the last month have you…

… had more than one day when you didn't eat at all, or had only one meal, because you couldn't afford to buy enough food?

Yes..... ☐ No..... ☐

…not been able to dress appropriately for the weather because you didn't have suitable shoes or clothes and were unable to buy them?

Yes..... ☐ No..... ☐

…gone without basic toiletries such as soap, shampoo, toothbrush, toothpaste or sanitary items because you couldn't afford to buy them?

Yes.....☐ No.....☐

…not been able to afford to heat your home on more than four days across the month?

Yes…….☐ No…….☐ Not relevant to me.….☐

…not been able to afford to light your home on more than four days across the month?

Yes…….☐ No…….☐ Not relevant to me…..☐

… had to sleep rough for at least one night?

Yes.....☐ No.....☐

Q2. In the last month, have you received money from the following? Tick all that apply

Benefits/Social Security ..... ☐

Parents ..... ☐

Other relatives ..... ☐

Friends..... ☐

Charities/churches ..... ☐

[placeholder for the name of the Local Welfare Fund, if it exists] (run by the council).... ☐

Paid work (including cash-in-hand work)..... ☐

Begging ..... ☐

Other..... ☐

No source at all..... ☐

Q3. Are you receiving or have you applied for Universal Credit payments?

Yes ……..……..☐

No ……..…….. ☐

Don't know ….. ☐

Q4. In the last month, what was your total income after paying tax?

Please think of your household income if you live with family and your personal income if you do not live with family. Tick one

None at all..... ☐

£1 - £69 a week ..... ☐

£70 - £99 a week ..... ☐

£100 - £124 a week ..... ☐

£125 - £149 a week ..... ☐

£150 - £199 a week ..... ☐

£200 - £299 a week ..... ☐

Over £300 a week..... ☐

Q5. Do you have to pay rent out of your personal or household income?

Yes…….. ☐ No…… ☐ → **GO TO QUESTION 7**

Q6. How much rent do you pay?

Please write your rent in below to the nearest £ and select how often you pay.

£ ☐☐☐ Monthly ☐ Fortnightly ☐ Weekly ☐

Q7. In the last month, have you received help getting non-cash items such as food, clothing, toiletries, power-cards, or other items from the following…

Tick all that apply

Parents ..... ☐

Other relatives ..... ☐

Friends..... ☐

[placeholder for the name of the Local Welfare Fund]……. ☐

Foodbanks..... ☐

Charities/churches ..... ☐

Other ..... ☐

None of these ..... ☐

Q8. How much money, if any, do you have in savings in a bank account?

None at all…… ☐

Less than £200…… ☐

£200-£999…… ☐

£1,000 or more…… ☐

The next few questions are about things that have happened in the last year…

Q9. In the last 12 months, have you experienced any of the following? Tick all that apply

Benefit sanctions ..... ☐

Benefit delays ..... ☐

Getting behind on bills ..... ☐

Serious debt..... ☐

Being evicted from your home ..... ☐

Applying to the [placeholder for 'council' or 'NI Housing Executive'] as homeless or being threatened with homelessness ☐

Losing a job ..... ☐

Reduced hours or a pay cut..... ☐

Mental health problems..... ☐

Serious physical health problems... ☐

Divorce or separation..... ☐

Domestic violence..... ☐

Alcohol or drug problems ..... ☐

Getting in trouble with the police .... ☐

Coming to the UK to live ..... ☐

Problem with your right to live or work in the UK ..... ☐

Relationship with your parents/family breaking down ..... ☐

None of these things ……..…. ☐

Q10. Are your day-to-day activities limited because of a health problem or disability which has lasted, or is expected to last, at least 12 months? Include problems related to old age.

Yes, limited a lot ……..… ..... ☐

Yes, limited a little ……..…..... ☐

No ……..…..... ☐

Q11. In the <u>last 12 months</u>, how many times have you used the service you are at today?

Today is the first time..... ☐

2-3 times……. ☐

4-5 times……. ☐

6-10 times. ……..… ☐

More than 10 times..... … ☐

I live here – this is a hostel, refuge, night shelter or temporary accommodation.. ☐

Q12. In the last 12 months, how many times have you used any other services to get food, clothing, toiletries, power-cards, money or other necessities?

	Number of times used in last 12 months	*Not used in last 12 months*
Foodbanks……	☐	☐
'Soup kitchen' or 'soup run'……..	☐	☐
Advice service (e.g. Citizens Advice, money advice, welfare advice, etc.)	☐	☐
Day centre or drop-in centre…….	☐	☐
Organisation supporting migrants……..…….	☐	☐
[placeholder for the name of the LWF]……	☐	☐

Q13. In the last 12 months for how long, if at all, have you stayed in any hostels, refuges, night shelters or other temporary accommodation? Tick one

Not at all ..... ☐

Up to 1 week..... …… ☐

2 - 3 weeks ..... ☐

1 - 2 months..... ☐

3 - 6 months..... ☐

More than 6 months..... ☐

ABOUT YOU

Q14. Are you…

Male..... ☐

Female..... ☐

Other..... ☐

Q15. How old are you?
Write in ☐☐

Q16. Do you live….

With family ..... ☐

With other people..... ☐

Alone ..... ☐

Q17. How many family members live with you? Please write in

Number of other **adults** (aged 18 and over) living with you ☐

Number of **children** (under 18) living with you ☐

Q18. In what sort of place are you living at the moment? Tick one.

Flat or house of your own, either rented or owned……..…… ☐

A hostel, refuge, B&B, night shelter……..…..☐

A temporary flat/house arranged by council or support agency……. ☐

Your partner's, parent's or other family/friend's house…… ☐

Sleeping rough ……..…… ☐

Other.....☐

Q19. If you are renting or own your home, please let us know whether you are:

…renting from a Council or Housing Association.....☐

…renting privately.....☐

…a homeowner or co-owner.....☐

…I am not a renter or owner.....☐

Q20. In which country were you born? Please write in

Q21. Have you ever applied for asylum in the UK?

Not applicable (I was born in the UK).....☐

No.....☐

Yes.....☐

Q22. What is your current status?

Awaiting outcome of application.....☐

Refugee status.....☐

Leave to remain.....☐

Application refused.....☐

Not sure/cannot say.....☐

Permission to re-contact you

Heriot-Watt University would like to talk to a small number of people in more detail about their circumstances and experiences. Involvement in this stage is also completely voluntary – you will also be able to choose if you want to take part when you are contacted. If you are happy to speak to Heriot-Watt University in the next 12 months please write in your contact details.

Name	
Phone number	
Email address	

MANY THANKS – PLEASE SEAL IN THE ENVELOPE PROVIDED AND GIVE TO STAFF

Appendix C: Census survey fieldwork protocol

ANNEX C.1: Agency Instructions – Version where service conducts survey without Kantar interviewers

Destitution in the UK: Agency Instructions Sheet

What the survey involves

- Ideally, every person using your service over a one-week period – **[specify dates]** – should be invited to complete the survey. This is a short paper questionnaire which should take no longer than 10 minutes to complete.
- Involvement is completely voluntary, but we would like to have as many service users as possible taking part over this one-week period.
- We need you (or your colleagues) to pro-actively ask people to take part in the study - we know from experience that your help with this is vital in getting a good response rate. We have included below a short summary of the study that frontline staff may find helpful in explaining it to service users.
- A researcher from Heriot-Watt University should already have visited to brief you and colleagues about the survey. They will also check in during the course of the survey week, but don't hesitate to contact them if needed. Contact <HWU researcher> on <contact phone> or email them at <contact email>.

How we need your help

- For each person who agrees to take part, we would like you to hand them a short paper questionnaire and, where appropriate, help them to fill it in.
- Each service user should only complete **one** questionnaire during the one-week period.
- If a service user has already completed a questionnaire at another service they should **not** complete a second questionnaire. Please make a **note on the tally sheet** provided of any refusals for this reason. We will also need to know how many people (unique individuals) have used your service across the week *in total.* The Heriot-Watt researcher should already have discussed with you how best you are able to provide this.
- We have included questionnaires translated into a number of different languages that we think you may need to use, and a **list of all the translations we have available is included below.** Please let <contact name> know if you require more of any particular language as soon as possible.
- Once the service user has completed the questionnaire please put it in the envelope provided.

Short explanation of the study for frontline staff to share with service users

"This week we are participating in a national study about how people who use services like this are getting by these days. We've got a short questionnaire that takes no more than 10 minutes to fill in. We'd be incredibly grateful if you'd consider filling it in, as the findings will be used to influence government policy. We can tell you more about it and can help you fill it in if you like. This is entirely voluntary and your answers will be used by Heriot-Watt University and Kantar for research purposes only. No individual will be identifiable from the published results. Your answers will have no impact on your access to our service."

Please remember to note on the tally sheet anyone who declines to complete a questionnaire because they have already been asked elsewhere

Collecting the surveys

- We would like you to collect all completed questionnaires and **store them confidentially** in a locked drawer or cabinet.
- To help you keep all completed questionnaires together we have provided several large plastic polybags.
- **At end of the week, we would be grateful if you could return all completed questionnaires to Kantar Public, using the large plastic prepaid envelopes** that are provided in your pack.
- If it is not possible to return questionnaires this way (for example if the number of questionnaires is too large) please contact the research lead below. We can arrange for someone to pick completed questionnaires up (e.g. by courier, if you let us know what date these can be picked up).
- If in doubt, the research team can make arrangements with you to collect all completed questionnaires.

If you think you are going to run out of questionnaires and envelopes, or particular survey translations, or have any questions about the study or these instructions, please contact <HWU researcher> on <contact phone> or email them at <contact email> as soon as possible.

Available Translations

We have developed a number of translations of the survey questionnaire. Some of these are already available in your pack, as indicated below, and additional copies of all translations can be made available through lead researchers (contact details are above). We can also email the translated questionnaires to you, if you would like to print any additional ones out.

If you have requested additional copies of the questionnaire in any of the languages below these will also be included in your pack.

	Already included in your pack (number)
Albanian	1
Amharic	1
Arabic	5
Bengali	1
Bulgarian	1
Farsi	5
French	1
Hungarian	1
Hindi	1
Italian	1
Kurdish - Sorani	1
Latvian	1
Lithuanian	1
Polish	5
Portuguese	1
Punjabi	1
Romanian	1
Russian	1
Slovakian	1
Somali	1
Spanish	1
Tamil	1
Tigrinya	1
Urdu	1
Welsh	1

Annex C.2: Letter to Agency
(version where Kantar interviewers to be present)

KANTAR

ADDRESS

<DATE>

Dear <ContactFirst>,

Destitution in the UK study

Thank you for agreeing to help Heriot-Watt University and Kantar to carry out this nationwide study of destitution across the UK.

The study's aim is to better understand the scale, pattern and trends in destitution across the UK. It is a larger and more robust version of similar studies undertaken in 2015 and 2017. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation, who are funding this study, will use this evidence to try to bring about positive change in policies and practices affecting people vulnerable to destitution.

The project will run from [merge fieldwork dates], and will comprise a survey of all of the users of your service. The aim of this process is to gather information about everyone who uses your service over this period. During this time, an interviewer from Kantar will be working with your service to help administer the survey, if appropriate. They have been fully briefed by the Heriot-Watt team on how best to approach the survey in your service.

Enclosed with this letter are the following documents:

- A copy of the **research information sheet** for yourself and colleagues which provides further information about the study, its purpose, and what will happen to the information we collect
- A **service user information sheet** to share with your clients as appropriate
- An **agency instruction sheet**, outlining how we are hoping that you will help with the survey, which includes the **list of all available translations**
- **A 'tally sheet'** that Kantar will use to keep record of how many clients visiting your service **do not** complete a survey because they have already been asked to take part in the survey elsewhere. They will keep this up to date over the week.
- **Paper questionnaires** and paper envelopes to give to the service users who agree to complete the census questionnaire
- **Large plastic envelopes** for storing completed questionnaires whilst on-site at the agency
- **Pre-paid envelopes** to return questionnaires to Kantar
- Two copies of a **poster** to advertise the 'Survey Week' to your staff and service users

- Three **clipboards** to aid completion
- **Box of biros** to aid completion

Your support is vital to the success of this study and we are very grateful for it. This research aims to help policy and resources to be targeted more appropriately in the future, and so improve the quality of life and life chances of very disadvantaged people.

The information that is collected in the questionnaires and the voluntary follow-up interviews will be used by Heriot-Watt University and Kantar for research purposes only and no individual will be identifiable from the published results.

If you have any questions about any aspect of the research, or the process we are asking you to carry out, please feel free to contact <HWU researcher> on <contact phone> or email them at <contact email>. Sincere thanks once more for your support of this study.

Regards,

Suzanne Fitzpatrick

Professor of Housing and Social Policy

Heriot-Watt University,

Edinburgh, EH14 4AS

https://www.hw.ac.uk/schools/energy-geoscience-infrastructure-society/research/i-sphere.htm

Email: S.Fitzpatrick@hw.ac.uk

Annex C.3: Research Information Sheet

DESTITUTION IN THE UK: Research Information Sheet

What is the purpose of the study?

This study aims to provide a robust assessment of the scale and causes of destitution across the UK. It will also explore the experiences of those directly affected by destitution. It is a follow-up to previous studies undertaken in 2015 and 2017 that were the largest and most rigorous ever undertaken of these issues.

The definition of 'destitution' being employed has been endorsed by the general public and includes people who:

- lack the following necessities because they can't afford to pay for them: shelter, food, heating and lighting, clothing and basic toiletries.

OR

- have an income level so low that they are unable to provide these necessities for themselves.

A similar report we did two years ago attracted a lot of press coverage and featured prominently in a UN report on extreme poverty in the UK. The evidence was also been presented in Parliament, and was drawn upon in a recent report by the House of Commons Work and Pensions Select Committee. If you'd like more information on the impact of this research please email [HWU lead] below.

What will it involve?

The study will involve a survey and a small number of follow up interviews with people using relevant services in 18 locations across the UK.

The study will be carried out in two stages in each of these areas:

(1) a very short self-completion survey of users of selected services over a one-week period. The aim is to receive responses from as many service users as possible over this period. **This is the key part of the study that we are looking for your help with**.

(2) in-depth interviews with respondents to the questionnaire who have had direct experience of destitution (only a small number of these interviews will be carried out in each location and we will not need your help with this stage of the study).

Will the findings be published?

Yes, there will be a report, a summary and a national launch of the research in autumn 2020. No individuals will be identifiable in any of the published outputs from the study. You can download the 2017 report for free here:

https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/destitution-uk-2018

Who is conducting the study?

The study is being led by Heriot-Watt University working with Kantar, a leading social research company with whom we have worked previously on homelessness and related projects. It is funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, a UK-wide charity that seeks to use robust evidence to influence Government and other key stakeholders to improve policy and practice for those in greatest need. We are also working with voluntary sector partners who are acting as 'local coordinators' in each of the research locations.

For further information about the research, please contact:

Research team representative
[name]
[mobile]
[email]

APPENDIX D:

Composite Local Authority Level Indicators

A ***detailed indicator*** is constructed for Local Authorities across Great Britain enabling a disaggregation into ***three broad components*** corresponding the groups discussed in depth in the Final Report, namely migrants, complex needs, and other UK-born destitute.

The component for ***destitute migrants*** is given by the following:

Pdestmig17 =0.786*0.45*(0.25*0.5*(*selectmig*+*selectbirth*) +0.6**pasyls9519*+0.04*(*pcumas*+*pcumvs*) +0.1**pgintinmig18* +0.3*0.73*phlmig189 +0.15*0.2*pcabAnyIm).

Where

selectmig is one-year migrants from new (post-2004) EU countries plus Africa and the Middle East plus 20% of those from 'Other Asia, 2010-11, from Census of Population, as percentage of resident population.

Selectbirth is one-tenth of the percentage of persons born in Lithuania, Poland, Romania or Africa plus one-fifth of persons born in the Middle East or Other Asia (2011 Census of Population).

Pasyls9519 is the number of asylum-seekers (persons) supported under Section 95 for subsistence and/or accommodation in 2019Q2, as percentage of population (Home Office CID)

Pcumas is the estimated cumulative net gains in population since 2001 from Asylum Seekers as recorded in ONS Population Estimates for Local Authorities, Components of Change, 2001-02 to 2007-08, extrapolated to 2014, as percentage of total population

Pcumvs is the estimated cumulative net gains in population since 2001 from Visitor Switchers as recorded in ONS Population Estimates for Local Authorities, Components of Change, 2001-02 to 2007-08, extrapolated to 2014, as percentage of total population

Pgintinmig18 is the number of gross international in-migrants into LA in 2017/18 as percent of the 2018 Mid Year Estimate population.

Phlmig189 is the number of homeless applications from EEA nationals or refugee/asylum cases with leave to remain in 2018/19, from MoHCLG 'H-CLIC' homelessness data 2018/19, with imputation for missing cases, as a percentage of households.

PcabAnyIm is the number of Citizens Advice Bureau advice cases on immigration issues in 2018/19 as a percentage of households in 2018, subject to imputation of values where overall caseload (presence) very low or missing.

And other variables are defined as above.

Note on weighting. The approach to weighting is broadly as described in section 3.4. The weights on 0.04 on *pcumas+pcumvs* reflect likely unemployment rate for longer term stayers from these groups. The high weight on the asylum variable reflects the likelihood that most of these would be destitute on our definition, and limited overlap with the other migrant groups represented in other variables. Lower weight on *pcabAnyIm* reflects both overlap and some reliability issues, with the 0.2 converting from annual to snapshot. The 0.73 factor applied reflects an estimate of the proportion of this group likely to be destitute, based on the Destitution survey. When finally calibrating this predictive formula to the census survey estimates of migrant destitution in 2017, a controlling factor of 0.786 was applied (see section 4 of this report).

The second component relates to ***destitute complex need (SMD)*** population

Pdestsmd19 =0.924*(0.11*0.15*(*psmdnew*+ *ACEInd*) + 0.32*0.33*(0.3*(0.5*nonfamhl189+phlsmd3phh +0.5*phlsmd5phh) + 0.1*(pphlhost+ ptotta19) +0.15*(avsh1517+adjcrimscr))).

where

- *Psmdnew* is the proportion per 1000 of the working age population experiencing SMD defined as 2 or 3 out of (single) homelessness, offending and substance misuse, based on combination of
  (a) Supporting People (SP) for 2010/11, including imputed values for non-met districts controlled to county level values,
  (b) the equivalent variable derived from the Offender Assessment System and MOJ Criminal Justice Statistics, averaged over 7 years to 2013, at LA district level (also from *Hard Edges);*
  and (c) the equivalent variable derived from the National Drug Treatment Monitoring System (NDTMS), 2012 at LA District level (from *Hard Edges*).
- *ACEIndex* is the new index of Adverse Childhood Experiences developed by Lewer et al (2019), based on 12 components in three domains of maltreatment, household adversity and context (including crime); most components refer to period around 2015.
- *Nonfamhl189* is homeless applications from non-family households in 2018/19 as percentage of households, from MoHCLG H-CLIC data with imputation for missing cases
- *PhlSMD3phh* is homeless applications from people reporting support needs relating to offending or drugs/alcohol in 2018/19 as a percentage of households, from MoHCLG H-CLIC data with imputation for missing cases

- *PhlSMD5phh* is homeless applications from people reporting a wider range of support needs including mental health and domestic violence/abuse alcohol in 2018/19 as a percentage of households, from MoHCLG H-CLIC data with imputation for missing cases
- *Pphlhost* is the number recorded as staying in homeless hostels in the 2011 Census
- *Ptotta19* is the total number of homeless households in temporary accommodation in March 2019, from MoHCLG H-CLIC data with imputation for missing cases
- *Avsh1517 is* the average rate of shoplifting crime reported over 3 years 2015-17, as a rate per 100 population (Reported Crime small area data)
- *AdjcrimScr* is the ID2019 crime score indicator adjusted to have a similar scale and range as the previous indicator, from Index of Deprivation 2019 indicators dataset.

There is some modification of this formula in the other UK countries. Scotland has a new set of comparable SMD3D and SMD5D indicators from Bramley et al (2019) *Hard Edges Scotland* report, referring to 2014-15, while only one component of the SMD score is available for Wales. The ACE Index is only available for England. The homelessness indicators from H-CLIC can only be approximated for Wales and Scotland, while the Avshr1517 indicator is not available for Scotland.

Note on Weighting. The index is based 30% on the *Hard Edges* SMD indicators (blended with ACE in England), 30% on various at risk homeless applicant groups, 30% on the crime indicators, and 10% on homeless temporary accommodation. The 0.11 factor in the first term allows for the measures being 'per thousand'. The 0.33 factor applied to the homeless variables represents a rough estimate of the proportion who may actually experience SMD currently, and the SMD3D factor is weighted more highly than the other two components in this group. Overall weighting values chosen give estimate of SMD destitute close to results of 2019 Census survey for 17 GB case study authorities, with a final controlling factor of 0.924.

The third component relates to the ***other or 'general' UK-born destitute*** population who do not have complex needs, and is given by

Pdestgen19f = 0.988*0 .28*(0.2*1.0*40*(0.5*predprobsppse+ prhybussp2LA3) + 0.2*0.2*psfliv11 + 0.1*(0.10*adjparcelsph +0.2*ppoorchld18) + 0.3*pcsanc_1 +0.06*0.1*pctonuc +0.3*0.2*(pcbencap+pcbedtax) +0.3*0.2*0.5*(pcdlapipfail2+pcpipfreshfail) +0.3*0.2*0.1*loss1620pwak + 0.3*0.2*phlnonsmd189 + 0.25*0.15*(pcabuc+1.0* pscprobdebt19) +0.25*0.1*pdhptot18).

Where

- *predprobsppse* is the predicted rate of 'severe poverty' based on synthetic logit model derived from PSE 2012 survey analysis (see below)

- *prhybussp2LA3* is the hybrid predicted rate of 'severe poverty' based on synthetic linear probability model derived from UK Household Longitudinal Survey Waves 17-19 pooled (2015/16-2017/18), with rates controlled to actuals at ONS group level (see below)
- *psfliv11* is number of awards of former Social Fund loans for living expenses in 2011, as percentage of all households (DWP)
- *adjparcelsph* is the number of food parcels given out by the Trussell Trust food bank network in 2019 per working age head, adjusted for effects of supply of TT and IFAN foodbanks based on regression model.
- *Ppoorchild18* is the new local measure of the percentage of children poor after housing costs developed by DWP based on administrative benefit and tax credit data and controlled to FRS/HBAI values at regional level.
- *pcsanc_1* is the number of JSA and UC sanctions as percent of working age adults in previous year (2018)
- *pctonuc* is the number of working age claimants on Universal Credit as a percent of the working age population in 2019
- *Pcbencap* is the number of working age benefit claimants subject to the total benefit cap as a percent of the working age population in 2019
- *Pcbedtax* is the number of working age benefit claimants subject to the 'bedroom tax' as a percent of the working age population in 2019
- *loss1620pwak* an estimate of the loss of benefit income per working age resident per year (in £k) resulting from welfare reforms and cuts instituted 2016-20, as calculated by Beatty and Fothergill (2016).
- *phlnonsmd189* is the number of homeless applicants who are not 'SMD' as defined above in 2018/19, as a percent of households, from MoHCLG H-CLIC data with imputation for missing cases
- *Pcabuc* is CAB advice cases relating to Universal Credit in 2018/19 as percentage of all households, subject to imputation of values where overall caseload (presence) very low or missing;
- *pscprobdebt19* is number of StepChange cases of problem debt (arrears on bills, payday and home lenders) as percent of households 2019
- *pdhptot18* is the number of awards of Discretionary Housing Payments in 2018/19 in respect of HB/LHA shortfalls relating to underoccupation restriction, LHA rent limitation, benefit cap or other factors, as a percentage of the number of households (LA returns to DWP)
- and other variables are as defined above.

Note on weights. Weights of 1.0 are used where indicator measures relevant group as a percentage at a point in time. Weights of 0.2 are used as a rough means of translating annual flow of cases to a point in time estimate. Weight of 40 on first pair of indicators gives simple average of proportions converted to a percentage. *Predprobsppse* is downweighted by half to reflect the greater lapse of time since this was measured (2012). *Adjparcelsph* was downweighted following tests which showed

it had poor correlation with the main dimensions of this index. *PSanc_1* has a full weighting but is a rare occurrence in this time period. *Pctonuc* refers to the full UC caseload and it is expected to only be a small fraction of this (mainly new claims) which risk contributing to destitution (and this also partly duplicates *pcabuc*. *Pdhptot18* is combination of reduction from annual to point in time (0.2) times some downweighting (0.25) to reflect high level of overlap and view that most DHP cases avoid destitution.

The overall weight of 0.28 reflects (a) the fact that as this index has developed incrementally from previous versions, more components have been added creating an effective inflation of about 50%; and (b) a broad judgement about overlap: e.g. if there were no overlap between the seven component indicators, this figure should should be 1, whereas with complete overlap it would be about 0.1, so the chosen figure effectively implies considerable overlap. The final value of this parameter was further adjusted to equate the number destitute across 15 GB case studies with the number derived from the Census survey (adjustment factor 0.988). .

Synthetic prediction of severe poverty

Two of the component indicators used in the above composites (*predprobsppse* and *predussp216c*) are themselves predictive formulae designed to give a predicted rate of severe poverty (high destitution risk) at the local authority level, based on relationships identified and quantified in analysis of large scale 'micro' sample household surveys, in this case the PSE and the UKHLS. Firstly, severe poverty is *defined* using a combination of factors for individual sample households, broadly lacking several key material essentials, having a very low income (less than 40% of the national median, equivalised for household composition and after housing costs), and subjective experience of poverty (based on well-validated questions), or (in case of UKHLS) experiencing financial difficulty. Secondly, *characteristics* of households which help to *predict* whether they are in severe poverty are *identified* using logistic regression and OLS regression models. Thirdly, either the logistic regression or OLS (alias Linear Probability) model coefficients (i.e. the measured effect of each variable on the outcome) are used in a *'synthetic' model* which makes predictions for localities based on the Population Census and other sourced data, updated to 2018-19 where possible using APS and other sources or model predictions, for the equivalent variables, at the aggregate level of local authorities. Additional adjustment factors are included to allow for slight differences in definition and mean values.

In summary form, the third stage synthetic model to generate severe poverty based on the PSE survey is as follows

*Predprobsppse=4.129*predoddssppse/(1+predoddssppse)*

Where

predoddssppse=exp(-5.49-0.54*0.999*aageu25-0.474*0.996*aage2534-2.899*0.917*aage65ov-0.448*0.998*female

-1.218*1.052*mixoth+1.057*1.075*socrent+0.823*0.637*privrent+0.828*0.554*nocar
+0.408*0.494*hh1-1.16*1.118*hh3
+1.472*1.164*unemp+1.332*1.174*badhlth+1.092*1.132*irben
+0.433*1.013*relhprice2).

Most of the variables here are self-explanatory, apart from 'mixoth' (mixed or other ethnicity), 'hh1' (single person non-elderly household), 'hh3' (household with three or more adults, possibly including children as well), 'irben' (receives income-related benefits).

The equivalent micro model based on the UKHLS survey is as follows

prussp2lp= 0.086 -0.005*0.32*ageu30 -0.012*1.43*ov60 -0.027*1.80*sing -
0.006*0.55 +0.016*2.71*lpfam -0.008*1.15*cfam +0.008*1.00*nkids -
0.011*0057*emprt166419 +0.047*0.0075*punem166419
+0.008*0.0197*(claimrate19+pcwadisab) +0.036*0.0006*pctonuc +0.027*0.77
0.5(ppoor+0.01*ppoorchld18) -0.017*0.93*ln(52*mdginc18/1000)
+0.044*0.74*famnocar +0.002*1.116*socrent +0.013*0.813*privrent
+0.004*1.27*linvest_1c +0.005*mcsub +0.010*lcosmo.

Variables which may not be self-explanatory include 'mdginc18' (median gross household income, in £/week), 'linvest_1c' (log of estimated savings and investments), 'mcsub' (Multicultural Suburbs group dummy), 'lcosmo' (London Cosmopolitan group dummy) . In this case, for a few variables which are not available from the Census or other sources at local authority level, values are used at the level of Local Authority groups', using ONS 2011 Classification (version 1). Predictions from this model are also controlled at the level of ONS LAGroups.

For the 2019 index based on UKHLS we adopted a hybrid approach by combining the predictions from the above model with a variable constructed from a weighted average of actual LA level income from sample observations and the ONS LA group level value, the weights being based on number of observations in each LA (a shrinkage procedure). Then a more parsimonious model was fitted to the composite income variable at LA level, using the following variables: nkids, emprt166419, hishrirbenLA, ppoor, lgincyrk, socrent, and lcosmo.

Of this group of variables, 'hishrirbenLA' is LA level measure of the proportion of households who receive a high share of their income from income-related benefits, 'ppoor' is the ID low income score, and 'lgincyrk' is the log of gross household income in £ 000 /year.

Appendix E: Sources and Margins of Error in Numerical Estimates

The process of generating national numerical estimates of destitute households and individuals in this research is relatively complicated, involving a number of steps and several distinct types of data and analysis. Therefore, it is not as straightforward as a conventional household survey, where statistical error margins (confidence intervals) can be estimated using standard methods.

Nevertheless, it is possible to identify different potential sources of error at different stages in the process, and to comment on their relative magnitude and direction.

1. The method is built on a 'census-type' self-completion survey of users of a specified range of voluntary sector emergency aid and advice services. Destitute people who do not use such services are not measured at all; this is one of the key reasons our estimates are *conservative*. One significant omitted group in 2015 were those who use Local Welfare Funds but not voluntary services. This group are now included in the 2017 survey or added in based on data obtained through FOI or correspondence.

2. The method is also built on a *definition*, which received much attention in the early stages of the research and in the 2015 Interim Report. People who disagree with this definition will not accept that our estimate of destitution numbers are correct, but any measure must follow a definition and ours is quite defensible, particularly in terms of majority public support for key elements revealed in the Omnibus Survey.

3. People might lie or be selective in what they reveal in the survey. It is not clear that this survey is more vulnerable to this problem than any other. Some people did not answer all the questions, which poses a bit of a problem (as in other surveys). This is only significant in one or two instances, where it would make a difference to the numbers if the true answers for those who did not respond to particular questions were very different from those who did respond (e.g. frequency of use of other services). In 2017 we gave considerable attention to improving the questions used here and also the process of analysing the results, including imputation.

4. Not all service users in the sampled services completed a questionnaire. Overall our *response rate* of 64% is quite good, even when compared with interview surveys, let alone with typical self-completion. In many services response rates were very high. In a few instances they were particularly low and this might make results in that particular locality a bit sensitive. The response rate in 2019 is higher than in both previous surveys. We think that this

is a reflection of both the strong support for the survey in most participating authorities, and their familiarity with it, as well as the diligent efforts of Kantar interviewers where used. There is also a small technical factor which has contributed to raised response rate, which is that the 'tallying' of cases who had already been asked to fill in the questionnaire elsewhere was more effective, and this would have boosted the response rate by about 3% points (by reducing the denominator). It should also be noted that we found no systematic relationship between response rates and the 'pressure' of need/demand represented by the predicted rate of destitution across the CSAs.

5. Underlying this issue is also the accuracy of the '*total weekly users'* figure that we have for each service. While the nature of some services is such that they have a clear count and there is no duplication, there are services (notably homeless drop-in day centres) where the total count includes many repeat users during the week. In these cases we attempted to estimate the number of unique users, for example by comparing the registers on successive days, or relied on the agencies' own estimates of unique users. It is possible that we obtained better estimates of the denominator (number of service users) in 2017 and again in 2019, because we paid particular attention to the issue, because interviewers were present for more of the opening times in busy services, and because some services upgraded their data systems to more clearly count unique users. If this were the case, that may have improved our total numerical estimates.

6. Services were sampled from a *sampling frame*, based on the mapping of all services 'in scope' carried out by our local coordinator, sometimes supplemented by direct input from team members. We believe that this mapping/frame was reasonably complete in the case studies. What was a bit less certain was the scale of operation of the different services listed, although we asked local coordinators to try to get an estimate of weekly users. 'Small services' (<10 users /week) were generally excluded, as were some which were thought to have few if any destitute users. Some services might be in a moribund state, or just in a start-up phase. There was a general tendency for some advice services to have less clients in census week than they claimed was the norm. However, specific numbers in the original mapping were not part of the calculation of grossing up factors – what mattered was simply the probability of selection, and this was based on the category (A, AF, B and C) and the general size category (Large, or medium/small), with large services normally having a higher probability of selection. In revisiting the 16 previous case study areas we had an opportunity to check and update the mapping of services. In most cases we found modest change, as reported in Chapter 3, especially Table 3.2.2. In certain cases there was a bit more change/churn, but overall net change in number of services was small. The main problematic case study area was one of the new London ones, Camden, owing to the tight

timescale and the nature of that central London borough. In this case we used information coming to light during the conduct of the survey to reclassify certain services in terms of the size categories, and adjust the weights accordingly. We also moderated the balance of numbers between the three analytical categories to bring it somewhat closer to the average from the other London cases.

7. However, the uncertainties about the number of clients, combined with the wide variation in numbers between individual agencies, and the fact that we only sampled 6-8 in each CSA, mean that inevitably you could get quite wide variation in numbers according to the 'luck of the draw'. This source of variation, or sampling error, is quantifiable. Also, the characteristics of those samples for particular CSAs may be affected by this 'clustering' of the sample in a relatively limited number of agencies. This is actually the *main reason* why we caution against placing too much emphasis on the numbers or profiles for *particular CSAs*. Across the 18 CSAs, with 113 services represented, we believe the results are a robust representation of destitute service users from this generic set of types of agency.

8. The overall sample design is certainly 'complex'. At the top level, 18 case study areas (local authorities or parts thereof) were selected, first in 2015 by a purposive approach informed by data, then in 2017 by an explicit process intended to balance the representation in terms of level and type of expected destitution, local authority type and region, and then finally in 2018 by a purposive expansion of the representation of London. This was explained transparently and in detail in Appendix D of the 2018 Technical Report (Bramley et al 2018). Within each CSA, a second level of sampling unit is the service agency. These themselves were selected on a stratified random basis, with strata defined in terms of 4 types of service and two broad size categories, larger agencies having a higher probability of selection. While clustering (i.e. only surveying in selected services) makes the survey more feasible/affordable, it reduces precision; however, stratification by size and type of agency can counter this to some extent. Within each agency, all service users in a week are invited to participate but we have a further source of possible error or bias associated with non-response.

9. Because of this level of complexity it is difficult to generate conventional confidence interval estimates covering the process as a whole. However, with regard to the effect of clustering through the selection of a limited number of service agencies, it is possible to make some estimates of the intrinsic uncertainty associated with that. It we take the 113 service agencies across the 18 CSAs as a whole, the mean number of service users per week is 57.1 and the standard deviation of this is 52.7. Using the standard formula the standard error of the mean would be 5.0 and the 95% confidence interval around the mean would be +/-9.9, that is 17.4% of the mean number of users. However,

that ignores the stratification by size and type. Once you allow for that by grossing up using the reciprocal of probability of selection, the numbers change there is a similar 95% confidence interval on total service would appear to be 21.0%.

We have also looked at the destitution rates, and in particular the extent to which these vary between service agencies within similar type/size categories. The 10 type-size categories are effectively the main stratification in the sampling. The average value of the standard deviation of the destitution rate across agencies within each stratum, weighted by the share of sampled service users in each stratum, comes out at 0.119 (i.e. 11.9%), giving a coefficient of variation of 18.4%. Destitution rates do not vary so much between agencies within their sub-categories (strata), although there is more variation in the smaller agencies. The average rate of destitution varies widely across strata, contrasting the 88-89% in food banks with the 50-52% in advice services, for example.

Overall, the partial evidence reviewed in here suggests that the margin of uncertainty around our overall estimates of numbers and proportions of service users who are destitute are of the order of +/- 20%. It will be noted that the increases in the scale of destitution between 2017 and 2019 identified in Chapters 3 and 4 do exceed this margin, including particularly the 'like-with-like' comparison which refers to *the same* agencies, i.e. without any re-sampling. .

10. As discussed in section 3.3 above, in the context of measuring change, while we have employed a fixed definition of destitution, some changes in the way we asked about income in 2017 may, while improving the overall estimate of destitution in some respects, leave some grounds for uncertainty, particularly about change from 2015. Underlying this, there are inherent limits on the ability of self-completion surveys to capture income accurately and consistently from all respondents. However, this does not affect the comparison between 2017 and 2019, when no changes were made to the definition or the questions, other than a marginal updating of the income thresholds and associated adjustment of the bands in the income question.

11. In the light of the above points, we believe we have measured the weekly number of destitute users of non-statutory services in our 18 CSAs*, taken together*, reasonably well. This leaves aside the question of whether there are significant numbers of destitute households who do not contact local voluntary services but who are in contact with statutory agencies, including local authorities, the Health Service, and of course the DWP. This issue is picked up in Chapter 7. The main issues in going beyond that are in getting from weekly to annual, and in getting from these 18 areas to the whole of the UK, both in

terms of numbers and in terms of profile of types of household and their circumstances.

12. The translation from *weekly to annual* depends on the extent of repeat visiting of services. We asked about visits over the last year. If the same people visited services every week over the year, the yearly number would be the same as the weekly number. In fact we estimate that on average they visited this service or other similar services 9 times (=weeks), so implying an annual multiplier of 52/9=5.6. [if the number of users is steady, 52-9=43/52 of them are additional to the ones we observed in census week]. The question on visits to the same service was well answered but that on visits to other services was less well answered, although with revised questions the response was much better than in 2015. We assume that those not answering, typically approaching half, are more like those who did (the conventional assumption in surveys and when imputing missing data), rather than being people who visited no other services (if they answered the first part of the question with a 'no', we would have coded them as zero). We utilise a Multiple Imputation procedure to predict the number of such visits, as described in section 4. Therefore, given a combination of better question design, fuller response, and a more sophisticated imputation process, we would claim that these annual multiplier estimates were significantly more robust in 2017 than they were in 2015, and that this improvement has been consolidated in 2019.

13. The indexes used to *predict relative expected rates of destitution* at local authority level use a lot of data, typically from administrative systems which record all the cases of people using a particular kind of service or benefit. So there is not generally a problem of sampling error per se. Rather, the issue is one of whether what we can generally call '*proxy measures'* close enough to destitution itself to provide a robust prediction, singly or in combination. Are they heavily overlapping, in the sense of counting the same people? Are they well *correlated* at the local authority level? Some are closely correlated, others moderately highly correlated, others less so – although nearly always positively correlated. Insofar as different components of these indexes are not wholly overlapping/correlated with one another, are they capturing some different aspects or drivers of destitution? If we had a direct measure of destitution, would the proxy indicators we are using provide a very good prediction of it, in a regression analysis? Or is this 'model' incomplete, missing an aspect of the problem, or biased by placing too much emphasis on one factor rather than another? Because we do not have a direct measure of destitution, we do not know the answer to these questions.

14. Some of the component indicators have good '*face validity'*. For example, the variable pSFLiv11 (former Social Fund crisis loans for living costs, percent of households, 2011/12) is closely related to the phenomenon of interest, being

the former official national system for providing emergency material help to households with no immediate means of livelihood. The indicator of sanctions is justified as relevant because of the evidence from our census survey that quite a lot of destitute households have experienced sanctions, reinforced by qualitative evidence from this and other studies. The composite severe poverty variable 'predprobsppse' was derived from the UK Poverty and Social Exclusion Survey, as the best 'discriminator' in terms of a number of specific measures in that survey of the likely consequences of immediate material hardship e.g. skimping on food; the local authority version of this indicator is the best logistic regression-based predictor of this measure, using proxy variables available in the Census. However, like the previously mentioned indicator, it is becoming out of date. 'Prussp2lp is the equivalent based on Understanding Society (UKHLS). The migration indicators relate fairly directly to the main known components groups of migrants at risk of destitution – current and past asylum seekers, visa overstayers, New EU migrants. The complex needs indicators are derived directly from a specific recent national study of this phenomenon (*Hard Edges)* drawing on the main administrative datasets which directly measure the relevant combinations of disadvantages.

15. Some of the component indicators appear to be more weakly correlated with others, and in some cases we can identify weaknesses in the data collection which may contribute to this (e.g. areas of the country where CAB has little or no representation). Indicators in this category are generally given a lower weight.

16. In 2019 many of the indicators used have been updated, while some valuable new and up-to-date indicators have been included, and some models have been recalibrated. Therefore these predictive indices should on balance work better than in 2017.

17. Taking advantage of this, we have demonstrated in section 4 that for each component index as well as the overall index the relationship between predicted and actual (survey-based) destitution (weekly) is a reasonably well-behaved linear proportional relationship. In fact, the fit of the observed to predicted rates of destitution have improved markedly in all cases. Therefore we believe we are justified in using a common proportional national multiplier factor for each destitution category, although there is a marginal case for possibly using a non-linear increasing function in the case of complex needs.

18. Taken together, these points suggest that we can have reasonable confidence that the national annual estimates of destitution in the UK derived from the 2019 survey are reasonably robust, and probably more accurate in order of magnitude than those for 2015.

19. At the same time it should be emphasized that there are significant margins of uncertainty, based partly on the unavoidably sizeable confidence interval around a highly clustered sample, partly on the reliance for some parameters on a degree of imputation. We would certainly not claim that the measures are more accurate than within a margin of +/-20%, but have to point out that the increases registered between 2017 and 2019 are generally in excess of that.

APPENDIX F: Expected Destitution Levels by Local Authority

Scores on Three Component Indicators and Overall Destitution and Ranking in GB (percent of households, weekly snapshot estimate, 2019).

L A Rank	Local Authority Name	Migrant	Complex Need	UK Other	All Destitute
1	Middlesbrough	0.35	0.79	0.70	1.84
2	Manchester	0.35	0.61	0.58	1.54
3	Kingston upon Hull, City of	0.21	0.58	0.74	1.53
4	Liverpool	0.29	0.55	0.64	1.48
5	Newcastle upon Tyne	0.37	0.53	0.57	1.47
6	Nottingham	0.34	0.57	0.54	1.46
7	Blackpool	0.03	0.86	0.56	1.45
8	Salford	0.35	0.38	0.64	1.37
9	Norwich	0.21	0.63	0.52	1.36
10	Glasgow City	0.42	0.28	0.64	1.34
11	Stoke-on-Trent	0.26	0.54	0.55	1.34
12	Newham	0.53	0.30	0.50	1.33
13	Blackburn with Darwen	0.21	0.51	0.59	1.31
14	Rochdale	0.28	0.51	0.51	1.30
15	Leicester	0.38	0.45	0.47	1.30
16	Haringey	0.39	0.42	0.43	1.24
17	Barking and Dagenham	0.47	0.24	0.51	1.23
18	Hartlepool	0.18	0.42	0.60	1.21
19	Tower Hamlets	0.28	0.47	0.47	1.21
20	Stockton-on-Tees	0.30	0.39	0.52	1.21
21	Lincoln	0.09	0.69	0.42	1.20
22	Birmingham	0.22	0.35	0.62	1.19
23	Southwark	0.32	0.45	0.43	1.19
24	Dundee City	0.09	0.52	0.57	1.17
25	North Ayrshire	0.02	0.40	0.74	1.16
26	Derby	0.29	0.47	0.39	1.15
27	West Dunbartonshire	0.03	0.50	0.60	1.14
28	Hastings	0.11	0.48	0.53	1.13
29	Wolverhampton	0.28	0.32	0.52	1.12
30	Camden	0.31	0.44	0.37	1.12
31	Westminster	0.39	0.45	0.28	1.11
32	Hackney	0.23	0.42	0.46	1.11
33	Islington	0.24	0.46	0.40	1.10
34	South Tyneside	0.11	0.40	0.59	1.10
35	Lambeth	0.24	0.46	0.41	1.10
36	Coventry	0.30	0.34	0.45	1.09

37	Brent	0.39	0.23	0.46	1.07
38	Oldham	0.25	0.24	0.58	1.07
39	Bolton	0.26	0.28	0.51	1.05
40	Peterborough	0.23	0.34	0.47	1.04
41	Ealing	0.38	0.22	0.44	1.04
42	Cardiff	0.33	0.30	0.39	1.03
43	Darlington	0.08	0.46	0.48	1.02
44	Ipswich	0.13	0.41	0.48	1.02
45	Burnley	0.07	0.42	0.53	1.02
46	Knowsley	0.07	0.42	0.53	1.02
47	Sandwell	0.26	0.16	0.59	1.01
48	Lewisham	0.22	0.35	0.44	1.01
49	Newport	0.27	0.28	0.46	1.01
50	Sunderland	0.12	0.39	0.48	1.00
51	Southampton	0.21	0.39	0.38	0.98
52	Swansea	0.25	0.32	0.40	0.97
53	East Ayrshire	0.02	0.44	0.51	0.97
54	Waltham Forest	0.32	0.20	0.44	0.96
55	Preston	0.17	0.35	0.43	0.96
56	Bournemouth	0.12	0.49	0.34	0.95
57	North East Lincolnshire	0.06	0.42	0.47	0.95
58	Hammersmith and Fulham	0.25	0.35	0.35	0.95
59	Tameside	0.17	0.33	0.44	0.94
60	Bradford	0.19	0.22	0.52	0.94
61	Luton	0.23	0.21	0.50	0.94
62	Walsall	0.12	0.24	0.57	0.94
63	Renfrewshire	0.04	0.36	0.53	0.93
64	Bristol, City of	0.16	0.40	0.37	0.93
65	Oxford	0.26	0.35	0.31	0.92
66	Halton	0.04	0.37	0.49	0.90
67	Hounslow	0.33	0.13	0.43	0.90
68	Doncaster	0.12	0.32	0.45	0.89
69	Falkirk	0.03	0.39	0.47	0.89
70	Portsmouth	0.18	0.31	0.39	0.88
71	Gateshead	0.06	0.34	0.49	0.88
72	Sheffield	0.20	0.23	0.45	0.88
73	Exeter	0.13	0.42	0.33	0.88
74	Reading	0.21	0.33	0.33	0.87
75	Leeds	0.18	0.22	0.46	0.86
76	Great Yarmouth	0.06	0.31	0.48	0.85
77	Hyndburn	0.05	0.29	0.50	0.84
78	Torbay	0.05	0.40	0.39	0.84
79	Thanet	0.06	0.34	0.44	0.84
80	Gloucester	0.12	0.35	0.37	0.84

81	Cambridge	0.26	0.23	0.34	0.83
82	Enfield	0.28	0.13	0.43	0.83
83	St. Helens	0.07	0.32	0.44	0.83
84	Eastbourne	0.07	0.34	0.43	0.83
85	Barrow-in-Furness	0.02	0.28	0.54	0.83
86	Merthyr Tydfil	0.04	0.21	0.58	0.83
87	Rotherham	0.14	0.24	0.45	0.82
88	Plymouth	0.12	0.31	0.39	0.82
89	Slough	0.21	0.22	0.39	0.81
90	Hillingdon	0.28	0.16	0.37	0.81
91	Brighton and Hove	0.14	0.35	0.32	0.81
92	Mansfield	0.05	0.39	0.36	0.80
93	Redbridge	0.34	0.11	0.35	0.80
94	Clackmannanshire	0.04	0.24	0.51	0.80
95	Greenwich	0.25	0.09	0.45	0.79
96	Bury	0.19	0.22	0.37	0.78
97	Barnsley	0.13	0.22	0.43	0.78
98	Crawley	0.17	0.23	0.38	0.78
99	Croydon	0.17	0.18	0.43	0.78
100	Kensington and Chelsea	0.26	0.23	0.29	0.78
101	Wigan	0.18	0.15	0.44	0.77
102	Weymouth and Portland	0.03	0.41	0.33	0.77
103	Fife	0.05	0.35	0.36	0.77
104	Calderdale	0.14	0.24	0.39	0.76
105	Northampton	0.15	0.28	0.34	0.76
106	Worcester	0.06	0.31	0.39	0.76
107	Redcar and Cleveland	0.05	0.28	0.43	0.76
108	Pendle	0.09	0.17	0.48	0.75
109	Bedford	0.11	0.28	0.35	0.74
110	Kirklees	0.16	0.19	0.40	0.74
111	County Durham	0.03	0.23	0.48	0.74
112	North Tyneside	0.10	0.21	0.43	0.74
113	Lancaster	0.14	0.21	0.38	0.73
114	Corby	0.10	0.24	0.39	0.73
115	Inverclyde	0.02	0.15	0.55	0.72
116	North Lanarkshire	0.03	0.16	0.52	0.71
117	Sefton	0.06	0.22	0.42	0.70
118	Harlow	0.09	0.19	0.42	0.70
119	City of London	0.20	0.30	0.19	0.69
120	Merton	0.24	0.11	0.35	0.69
121	Scottish Borders	0.04	0.30	0.35	0.69
122	Boston	0.18	0.15	0.36	0.69
123	Wakefield	0.08	0.20	0.41	0.69
124	Barnet	0.26	0.08	0.34	0.68
125	Rossendale	0.10	0.14	0.44	0.68

126	West Lothian	0.05	0.16	0.47	0.68
127	Nuneaton and Bedworth	0.04	0.22	0.42	0.68
128	Blaenau Gwent	0.02	0.16	0.49	0.67
129	South Ayrshire	0.03	0.12	0.52	0.67
130	City of Edinburgh	0.14	0.18	0.34	0.66
131	Stevenage	0.08	0.20	0.38	0.66
132	Tamworth	0.02	0.27	0.36	0.66
133	Southend-on-Sea	0.08	0.22	0.36	0.65
134	Wrexham	0.11	0.09	0.45	0.65
135	Wirral	0.04	0.22	0.39	0.65
136	Canterbury	0.11	0.20	0.34	0.65
137	Swale	0.04	0.23	0.38	0.65
138	Harrow	0.27	0.06	0.32	0.65
139	Ashfield	0.02	0.21	0.42	0.65
140	Swindon	0.11	0.22	0.32	0.64
141	Northumberland	0.02	0.20	0.42	0.64
142	Gosport	0.03	0.24	0.37	0.64
143	Wandsworth	0.20	0.16	0.28	0.64
144	Gravesham	0.10	0.16	0.37	0.64
145	Thurrock	0.12	0.16	0.35	0.63
146	Rhondda Cynon Taf	0.03	0.09	0.50	0.63
147	Fenland	0.09	0.15	0.39	0.62
148	Scarborough	0.04	0.20	0.37	0.62
149	Warrington	0.05	0.22	0.35	0.62
150	Carlisle	0.03	0.26	0.33	0.62
151	Bridgend	0.03	0.17	0.41	0.61
152	Dudley	0.07	0.13	0.41	0.61
153	Medway	0.07	0.19	0.36	0.61
154	Isle of Wight	0.03	0.23	0.35	0.61
155	Chesterfield	0.02	0.23	0.36	0.61
156	South Lanarkshire	0.03	0.14	0.44	0.61
157	Watford	0.12	0.19	0.29	0.61
158	Copeland	0.01	0.15	0.45	0.61
159	Bassetlaw	0.04	0.22	0.34	0.60
160	Angus	0.04	0.20	0.37	0.60
161	Dover	0.04	0.18	0.37	0.60
162	Wellingborough	0.10	0.18	0.32	0.60
163	Shepway	0.05	0.18	0.37	0.60
164	Aberdeen City	0.14	0.11	0.34	0.60
165	Telford and Wrekin	0.05	0.15	0.40	0.59
166	Rushmoor	0.08	0.21	0.30	0.59
167	Havant	0.02	0.21	0.35	0.59
168	Milton Keynes	0.13	0.11	0.35	0.58
169	North Devon	0.03	0.22	0.33	0.58
170	Waveney	0.03	0.17	0.38	0.58

171	North Lincolnshire	0.05	0.14	0.39	0.58
172	Torfaen	0.01	0.08	0.48	0.57
173	Havering	0.14	0.10	0.32	0.56
174	Redditch	0.06	0.15	0.35	0.56
175	Stockport	0.06	0.18	0.32	0.56
176	East Staffordshire	0.06	0.16	0.33	0.55
177	Caerphilly	0.01	0.08	0.45	0.55
178	Dartford	0.08	0.18	0.28	0.55
179	Newcastle-under-Lyme	0.04	0.20	0.30	0.54
180	Cheshire West and Chester	0.04	0.18	0.31	0.54
181	Stirling	0.06	0.12	0.36	0.54
182	Dumfries and Galloway	0.03	0.10	0.41	0.54
183	York	0.09	0.17	0.27	0.53
184	Maidstone	0.07	0.14	0.32	0.53
185	Colchester	0.11	0.11	0.31	0.53
186	Highland	0.04	0.07	0.41	0.52
187	Wyre Forest	0.02	0.12	0.38	0.52
188	Broxbourne	0.07	0.14	0.32	0.52
189	Kettering	0.06	0.16	0.30	0.52
190	Tendring	0.02	0.12	0.38	0.52
191	Neath Port Talbot	0.02	0.06	0.43	0.52
192	Basildon	0.06	0.10	0.36	0.51
193	Denbighshire	0.03	0.09	0.40	0.51
194	Erewash	0.02	0.13	0.37	0.51
195	Sedgemoor	0.04	0.12	0.35	0.51
196	Conwy	0.03	0.12	0.36	0.51
197	Allerdale	0.02	0.13	0.36	0.51
198	Cannock Chase	0.01	0.15	0.35	0.51
199	Bracknell Forest	0.08	0.08	0.34	0.50
200	Pembrokeshire	0.03	0.07	0.41	0.50
201	Rugby	0.08	0.08	0.33	0.49
202	Trafford	0.07	0.11	0.30	0.49
203	West Lancashire	0.09	0.06	0.34	0.49
204	Midlothian	0.03	0.03	0.43	0.49
205	Cherwell	0.07	0.12	0.30	0.49
206	Bolsover	0.03	0.10	0.35	0.49
207	Gwynedd	0.06	0.04	0.38	0.49
208	Forest Heath	0.11	0.11	0.27	0.49
209	Cheltenham	0.07	0.14	0.27	0.48
210	Sutton	0.09	0.12	0.28	0.48
211	Worthing	0.05	0.15	0.28	0.48
212	Ashford	0.06	0.11	0.32	0.48
213	Isle of Anglesey	0.02	0.03	0.43	0.48

214	East Lindsey	0.03	0.11	0.34	0.48
215	Arun	0.06	0.10	0.31	0.48
216	East Lothian	0.05	0.05	0.38	0.48
217	Kingston upon Thames	0.17	0.08	0.22	0.48
218	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	0.05	0.13	0.29	0.47
219	Carmarthenshire	0.04	0.06	0.37	0.47
220	Runnymede	0.12	0.14	0.21	0.47
221	Solihull	0.03	0.14	0.30	0.47
222	Bath and North East Somerset	0.08	0.12	0.26	0.47
223	West Somerset	0.04	0.15	0.28	0.47
224	Argyll and Bute	0.04	0.07	0.36	0.46
225	Bexley	0.09	0.08	0.29	0.46
226	Breckland	0.06	0.08	0.32	0.46
227	Herefordshire, County of	0.07	0.13	0.26	0.46
228	Taunton Deane	0.05	0.13	0.28	0.46
229	Cornwall	0.03	0.11	0.32	0.46
230	Basingstoke and Deane	0.06	0.12	0.28	0.46
231	Amber Valley	0.02	0.10	0.34	0.46
232	Warwick	0.08	0.12	0.25	0.45
233	Rother	0.02	0.11	0.32	0.45
234	Ceredigion	0.07	0.04	0.34	0.45
235	North Somerset	0.04	0.11	0.30	0.45
236	Mendip	0.05	0.11	0.30	0.45
237	Hertsmere	0.09	0.08	0.27	0.45
238	The Vale of Glamorgan	0.03	0.13	0.29	0.45
239	South Holland	0.10	0.04	0.30	0.44
240	Stafford	0.04	0.15	0.25	0.44
241	Newark and Sherwood	0.04	0.10	0.29	0.44
242	Oadby and Wigston	0.13	0.05	0.26	0.44
243	Guildford	0.13	0.09	0.21	0.44
244	Torridge	0.02	0.09	0.32	0.43
245	Chorley	0.04	0.10	0.29	0.43
246	Flintshire	0.04	0.03	0.37	0.43
247	Woking	0.10	0.06	0.27	0.43
248	Moray	0.04	0.04	0.36	0.43
249	High Peak	0.02	0.09	0.32	0.43
250	Dacorum	0.05	0.09	0.29	0.43
251	Broxtowe	0.08	0.05	0.29	0.42
252	Test Valley	0.05	0.11	0.27	0.42
253	Spelthorne	0.08	0.11	0.24	0.42
254	Charnwood	0.08	0.05	0.29	0.42
255	Perth and Kinross	0.06	0.13	0.23	0.42

256	Teignbridge	0.02	0.12	0.27	0.42
257	Wyre	0.03	0.09	0.30	0.41
258	Rutland	0.04	0.03	0.34	0.41
259	North Norfolk	0.03	0.07	0.32	0.41
260	Powys	0.04	0.10	0.28	0.41
261	North Warwickshire	0.02	0.08	0.32	0.41
262	Tunbridge Wells	0.06	0.07	0.27	0.41
263	South Kesteven	0.05	0.04	0.31	0.41
264	Cheshire East	0.04	0.10	0.26	0.41
265	Poole	0.04	0.11	0.25	0.40
266	Wycombe	0.08	0.07	0.25	0.40
267	South Somerset	0.04	0.07	0.29	0.40
268	Bromley	0.06	0.07	0.26	0.40
269	Selby	0.04	0.03	0.33	0.39
270	Ryedale	0.04	0.04	0.32	0.39
271	Aylesbury Vale	0.07	0.06	0.25	0.39
272	Adur	0.03	0.08	0.28	0.39
273	Shropshire	0.03	0.06	0.29	0.39
274	Wychavon	0.05	0.06	0.28	0.39
275	Richmondshire	0.06	0.04	0.29	0.39
276	Gedling	0.03	0.08	0.28	0.38
277	Windsor and Maidenhead	0.09	0.05	0.23	0.38
278	Central Bedfordshire	0.06	0.06	0.26	0.38
279	East Hertfordshire	0.04	0.09	0.25	0.38
280	Reigate and Banstead	0.07	0.07	0.24	0.38
281	South Ribble	0.04	0.07	0.27	0.38
282	Winchester	0.05	0.09	0.23	0.38
283	Lewes	0.03	0.09	0.25	0.37
284	Shetland Islands	0.04	0.06	0.28	0.37
285	West Lindsey	0.02	0.05	0.30	0.37
286	Huntingdonshire	0.06	0.03	0.28	0.37
287	West Berkshire	0.05	0.07	0.25	0.37
288	Richmond upon Thames	0.11	0.03	0.22	0.37
289	North East Derbyshire	0.01	0.04	0.32	0.37
290	Braintree	0.03	0.04	0.30	0.37
291	Staffordshire Moorlands	0.01	0.09	0.27	0.37
292	Malvern Hills	0.04	0.05	0.27	0.36
293	St Edmundsbury	0.05	0.07	0.23	0.36
294	Eastleigh	0.04	0.07	0.25	0.36
295	Forest of Dean	0.02	0.05	0.29	0.36
296	West Dorset	0.02	0.11	0.23	0.36
297	Chichester	0.05	0.05	0.26	0.36
298	West Devon	0.03	0.05	0.27	0.36
299	Wiltshire	0.04	0.07	0.25	0.35
300	South Gloucestershire	0.06	0.04	0.25	0.35

301	Daventry	0.06	0.04	0.26	0.35
302	East Cambridgeshire	0.06	0.03	0.26	0.35
303	Stratford-on-Avon	0.05	0.05	0.25	0.35
304	North West Leicestershire	0.03	0.03	0.29	0.35
305	East Riding of Yorkshire	0.02	0.04	0.29	0.35
306	Purbeck	0.04	0.10	0.21	0.34
307	Eden	0.03	0.06	0.26	0.34
308	Three Rivers	0.06	0.04	0.24	0.34
309	Orkney Islands	0.03	0.05	0.27	0.34
310	South Lakeland	0.04	0.07	0.23	0.34
311	North Hertfordshire	0.04	0.07	0.23	0.34
312	Christchurch	0.03	0.09	0.22	0.34
313	Babergh	0.03	0.03	0.28	0.34
314	Harrogate	0.06	0.04	0.24	0.34
315	Chelmsford	0.05	0.06	0.23	0.34
316	Fylde	0.04	0.05	0.25	0.34
317	Na h-Eileanan Siar	0.03	0.04	0.27	0.33
318	Sevenoaks	0.05	0.04	0.24	0.33
319	Aberdeenshire	0.04	0.04	0.25	0.33
320	New Forest	0.03	0.07	0.23	0.33
321	Hinckley and Bosworth	0.03	0.03	0.27	0.33
322	Lichfield	0.02	0.06	0.25	0.33
323	Brentwood	0.05	0.02	0.26	0.33
324	Tonbridge and Malling	0.03	0.06	0.23	0.33
325	East Dunbartonshire	0.02	0.03	0.27	0.33
326	North Dorset	0.04	0.08	0.22	0.33
327	South Hams	0.03	0.04	0.26	0.33
328	Epsom and Ewell	0.08	0.05	0.19	0.32
329	Surrey Heath	0.07	0.04	0.22	0.32
330	Monmouthshire	0.03	0.05	0.25	0.32
331	Melton	0.03	0.04	0.25	0.32
332	Mid Devon	0.03	0.04	0.24	0.32
333	East Renfrewshire	0.02	0.02	0.27	0.32
334	East Northamptonshire	0.04	0.05	0.23	0.32
335	South Derbyshire	0.02	0.06	0.24	0.31
336	Mole Valley	0.05	0.04	0.22	0.31
337	Hambleton	0.03	0.02	0.26	0.31
338	Derbyshire Dales	0.02	0.03	0.26	0.31
339	Wealden	0.03	0.04	0.24	0.31
340	Bromsgrove	0.02	0.06	0.23	0.31
341	Craven	0.03	0.03	0.24	0.31
342	Elmbridge	0.09	0.02	0.19	0.31
343	Castle Point	0.02	0.02	0.27	0.31
344	West Oxfordshire	0.05	0.04	0.22	0.31
345	Uttlesford	0.04	0.04	0.23	0.30

346	East Devon	0.03	0.04	0.23	0.30
347	Epping Forest	0.04	0.02	0.24	0.30
348	South Norfolk	0.03	0.04	0.23	0.30
349	Tewkesbury	0.04	0.02	0.24	0.30
350	Fareham	0.02	0.07	0.21	0.30
351	Tandridge	0.05	0.03	0.22	0.30
352	Maldon	0.02	0.03	0.25	0.29
353	Vale of White Horse	0.06	0.03	0.20	0.29
354	Horsham	0.05	0.03	0.21	0.29
355	Mid Sussex	0.05	0.02	0.22	0.29
356	Stroud	0.02	0.03	0.23	0.29
357	East Hampshire	0.04	0.04	0.20	0.29
358	Blaby	0.03	0.03	0.23	0.28
359	Cotswold	0.04	0.02	0.22	0.28
360	Chiltern	0.05	0.01	0.22	0.28
361	Broadland	0.02	0.04	0.22	0.28
362	South Oxfordshire	0.05	0.02	0.21	0.28
363	South Staffordshire	0.01	0.04	0.23	0.28
364	South Bucks	0.07	0.03	0.19	0.28
365	South Cambridgeshire	0.06	0.01	0.21	0.28
366	Mid Suffolk	0.02	0.02	0.23	0.27
367	Waverley	0.06	0.02	0.19	0.27
368	Wokingham	0.07	0.01	0.19	0.27
369	East Dorset	0.01	0.03	0.22	0.27
370	Suffolk Coastal	0.03	0.03	0.20	0.26
371	North Kesteven	0.03	0.01	0.22	0.26
372	Ribble Valley	0.04	0.03	0.19	0.26
373	Rushcliffe	0.03	0.03	0.20	0.26
374	Harborough	0.03	0.01	0.20	0.25
375	South Northamptonshire	0.04	0.01	0.19	0.24
376	Hart	0.05	0.02	0.17	0.24
377	Rochford	0.02	0.01	0.21	0.24
	Total	0.12	0.20	0.38	0.71

APPENDIX G: TOPIC GUIDE FOR QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS

Suggested opening blurb

"Hi I'm X, a researcher from Heriot-Watt University. Hopefully you should have got a text/email yesterday about our study 'Getting By in the UK' that we're doing for the charity the Joseph Rowntree Foundation about the things people sometimes have to do without (like food, clothes, heating etc.)?

You might remember that you filled in a short questionnaire for us a few months ago? At that time, you said that you would be happy to be re-contacted for an interview – so hoping you are still happy to talk to us? But it is entirely up to you, and if you no longer want to be interviewed, or don't want to answer any particular questions that's absolutely fine. As I mentioned in email/text, we are giving everyone who participates in an interview £20 to thank them for their time.

And I do hope you don't mind my contacting you about this project in midst of everything that is going on at the moment? The impact of the COVID on people who were sometimes struggling to get by even before it hit is partly what we want to find out about. I do hope you haven't been ill yourself with it? [If yes], are you still OK to talk to us – or rather we contacted you later, or left you alone altogether? Entirely up to you but we'd be keen to find out about your experiences.

If agree: *do you mind if I record the interview? [start recording] I am [X], it is [date], and this is interview [code]. And can I start just by asking you to confirm that I have explained who I am, what the research is about and that you are under no obligation to take part, and that you are happy to be interviewed and to have it recorded. And just to be clear, everything you say will be treated in absolute confidence. Your name will not be used in any published reports and we will not pass your details onto anyone else. If we quote what you say, it will be on a completely anonymous basis."*

Checklist:

- remind about text/email, what the project is about, who is conducting it, remind that they agreed to be re-contacted

- £20 voucher

- participation is voluntary and confidential

- recording (to speed up the interview)

- consent to anonymised quotations in the report/other outputs

- they can withdraw from the interview/refuse to answer any question, without giving a reason, no consequences whatsoever

- have they got enough power in the mobile phone battery for one hour's conversation

1. Current Living Situation

- What sort of place are you living in at the moment [Q18 in Census]? How long have you been living there? Where were you living/sleeping before that? Why did you leave there [Probe if moved for COVID-related reasons, e.g. moved from street homelessness, congregate/shelter accommodation]?
- Does anyone else live with you? [probe household composition] [Q16/17 in Census]. Has this changed recently? [Probe: if any COVID-related reasons, self-isolation, illness, etc.]
- Are you concerned about having to leave your accommodation/find somewhere else to stay in the near future? [Probe: insecurity associated with rent arrears; staying with family/friends/partner; TA/homeless accommodation, etc.]
    - *[If in own accommodation]* Have you heard about the current ban on evictions by private/social landlords? Is that relevant to your own situation at all? If so, how?
    - *[If in own accommodation]* Has COVID-19 made any difference to your ability to pay your rent? [Probe: changes in income, changes in LHA, other benefit changes] Are you in rent arrears? Have these increased/decreased since COVID hit?
    - *[If relevant]* Have you heard about LAs being asked to provide accommodation to everyone who is sleeping rough/in shelters/in encampments? Has anyone offered you help? What did they offer? Why did/didn't you accept? What do you think is going to happen now with regards to getting you housing?
- *[If sharing accommodation, even in a family home*] You'll have seen all the Government publicity about staying at home almost all the time, washing your hands frequently, and self-isolating if you start to feel ill.
    - To what extent are you able to follow this advice, considering your circumstances?'
    - Probe: any impacts of homeless/insecure/ inadequate housing situation?

2. Additional questions for migrants

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- Do you mind if I ask which country you were born in? How long you have been living in the UK? Are you a British citizen? When did you get British citizenship? [*If is a British citizen, drop rest of questions in this section]*
- Can I just check your current situation, are you… (probe for immigration status as appropriate, e.g. awaiting decision on asylum claim/had an application refused/given refugee status/leave to remain; EEA jobseeker/worker; a migrant on a family visa; visa overstayer, etc). *[emphasise if concerned that confidential/info will be shared with noone from UKBA/Home Office, its just so we ask questions relevant to their situation in the interview]*
- Do you have the right to work in the UK? [If yes, probe other potential barriers to work - recognition of qualifications, English language proficiency, etc.]
- Can I just check, are you entitled to claim welfare benefits in the UK? Which ones (if any) do you receive just now? Have you received any others in the past? Do you receive money from the Home Office?

3. Economic Status/Income

- Can I ask, are you in (paid) work at the moment? What is it you do? Part/full time; regular/irregular hours (probe hours contracted); employed/self-employed/cash-in-hand? How long have you been in that job? Are you able to continue working just now or have things changed since COVID hit? (Probe COVID-specific impacts: working from home/lost or gained job/reduced or increased hours/pay cut/furloughed/caring responsibilities, etc). Are you considered a 'key worker'?
- *[If not working just now]* Can I ask, have you been in paid work at all over the last year? What did you do? Part/full time; regular/irregular hours (probe hours contracted); employed/self-employed/cash-in-hand? How long ago did you leave that job/why did you leave?
- How do you 'get by' just now/what sources of money do you have? [Probe: paid work, benefits (which ones; on Universal Credit yet? family, friends, charitable organisations/ religious organisations, other (e.g. begging, selling Big Issue)]?
- Has this changed recently/do you expect it to change any time soon? [reduced/increased income; new/lost source]? Why did it change? [Probe whether COVID-related or other reasons]
- *[Ask everyone directly]* Has COVID-19 has any impact on your income (positive or negative)/do you think that it will? [Probe: impact on income from paid work/change in benefits, e.g. Universal Credit rise, Tax Credit rise, LHA rise, other benefit changes]
- Do you have any debt or or are you behind on bills at all? Has this increased or decreased as a result of COVID-19? [Probe: DWP loans/advances; rent, utilities, Council tax arrears; payday loans; consumer credit; unlicensed lenders; friends and family, etc.)
- *[For those with children]* Has changed access to childcare/school closures impacted on your income/ability to work since COVID hit?
- *[If not already established]* Can I just check: are you receiving or have you applied for UC payments? [Q3 in CENSUS] When did you first claim UC [probe: whether pre/post pandemic]? Did you have any problems with the claims process or was it all pretty smooth? Did you receive an advance payment to cover the 5 week wait for first payment ? How helpful (or not) was that advance

[allowing for the need to repay]? Have you heard that there will be a £20 rise in the weekly UC payment? Will that make a big difference to you or not much at all?

- *[Ask all in receipt of benefits].* Did/do you have any deductions from your UC/other benefits for debts? Who to/what for/how much? Are you aware that most of these deductions are now suspended (though deductions from UC for benefit advances will continue)? What difference will that make to you?
- *[Ask all in receipt of out-of-work/ disability benefits – UC, JSA, ESA, DLA/PIP]* Have you noticed any difference in the approach of JobCentre Plus/DWP since COVID? For example, has there been any change to the requirements on you to seek work, attend jobcentre, undertake health assessments, threat of sanctions, etc.? What difference has this made to you?
- *[Ask those that have been off work because ill/isolating at home because of COVID]* Have you applied for Statutory Sick Pay? If yes, how easy/difficult a process was this been for you? If not, why not (too low income/self-employed), and what alternative have you accessed (ESA?)?
- How do your expenses compare with your income, in general? Are there any things you now spend less on than pre-COVID? (Probe: transport, work/school-related expenses, mobile phone, etc.)

4. Destitution/access to essentials

- Use starting blurb along lines of: "it's helpful for us to know what things people have had to go without recently because they can't afford to pay for them. Can I ask, in the last month, have you done without.... [Q1 IN CENSUS]
- *Food/toiletries*
  - *[Ask all]* Are you finding it more/less difficult to access these since COVID hit? [Probe: changing access to foodbanks/soup kitchens/day centres/other charitable sources; local shops low in stock/rationing; prices increased/only more expensive brands available; income up/down, etc.]
  - *[For those with school-aged children]* Did your kids get free school meals? Have you been given any replacement for this while they are off? [Probe: cash, vouchers, food parcels, packed lunches collected from school, school staying open for vulnerable children, etc.] What impact is this having on you/your kids?
- *Clothing/footwear – ask all*
  - Are you finding it more/less difficult to access these for yourself/your children since COVID hit? [Probe: changing access to foodbanks/charity shops/community services close or reduced; income up/down]
- *Heating/lighting – if have own accommodation ask:*
  - Have your energy costs changed at all (up/down)? with COVID/being at home more?
  - Do you have a pre-payment meter? Are you aware of the special arrangements [explain if necessary]? Have you been able to access? Why/why not?

5. Access to help, to services and to IT

- Who do you tend to go to, if anyone, when you need help getting these necessities (like food, clothes, toiletries)? [Probe: parents, other family, friends, charities, churches, foodbanks, Local Welfare Assistance Fund, social work department, housing association, advice services, etc.]
- When you need money, do you go to the same or different people/organisations for help?
- Has your ability to get money/other help from any of these people or organisations changed since COVID? Has it increased/decreased? [Probe: why: service closed down, reduced/expanded, relaxed rules, switched from in-kind to cash, eased referral/access routes, etc.]
- Many services like DWP, health services, advice services, LWFs, etc. are shifting to online/telephone only support. Is this helpful/problematic from your point of view? [Probe: access to IT, lengthy/expensive telephone queues, more convenient/better than travelling, etc.]

6. Impacts, family and relationships

- Overall, what have the most important impacts of the whole COVID-19 crisis been on you so far do you feel? Explore impacts on:
  - Physical health
  - Mental health
  - Income/work/economic status
  - Access to essentials/things you need
  - Access to services/places you like to/need to go to (e.g. parks, shops, pub, bookies, day centres, clubs, churches, specialist migrant services, drop-ins, etc.)
  - Travel (e.g. whether cuts to public transport making it difficult to get to work, medical appointments, shops etc.)
  - Relationships with other people in your household (adults/children)
  - Relationships with other close family (including children that don't live with you/only live with you some of the time)
  - Relationships with friends/wider family/neighbours/workmates, etc.
- *[For those with children]* What have the main impacts been on them? How are they getting on being at home rather than at school? Not seeing friends, etc? [Probe: missing school/nursery; missing friends/play/cooped up indoors; changes/tensions in relationships with parents/others in the household; access to essentials (free school meals, clothes, etc), extra costs not covered above, etc].

7. Closing

In closing, say *"Just checking that I have all the information I need before letting you go…"* Go through 'Short Census Questionnaire':

- **1, 3, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20*, 21*, 22* (only relevant to migrants)** should already have been covered
- **10, 15** may not have been

Also ask:

- Do you mind if I ask: **In the last <u>month</u>, what was your <u>total</u> income after paying tax?** Please think of your household income if you live with family and your personal income if you do not live with family. [note actual amount per week or month]
- **Do you have to pay rent out of that? If yes, how much rent do you pay?** [note actual amount]

- Do you mind if I ask: **Do you have any money in savings in a bank account?** Do you mind if I ask how much? [note actual amount per week or month]

We might also want to use some of what you said for other research projects that we are doing on the impacts of COVID on people struggling to get by, and facing challenges like homelessness, problems with the social security system, etc. This would be on the same strictly anonymised basis, and helps us really maximise the benefit of the research and the information you have given us. Would that be OK? And if for any reason at all you change your mind I'll send you my email and you can let me know if you want us to remove your data and we'll do that straight away.

Arrange the payment: *ask for their email address; postal if they don't have email. Say that you will send them the voucher via email straight away, great if they can email back to say that received safely; if post, ask if they can text to say got it.*

Thank the respondent.

APPENDIX H: SHORT SURVEY TO ESTABLISH IF STILL DESTITUTE AT INTERVIEW STAGE AND OTHER KEY FACTUAL CHARACTERISTICS (INCORPORATING INCOME CRITERION CRIB SHEET)

Getting by in the UK– a survey

We would like your help in research we are doing about what kinds of things people have to get by without. Heriot-Watt University and Kantar are doing the research for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, a charity that works to improve the situation of people in need. The questions should take about 10 minutes to answer, and if you need help, staff will assist you. The information that is collected will be used by Heriot-Watt University and Kantar only for research purposes and no individual will be identifiable from the published results. Participation is entirely voluntary and will not affect the service you receive in any way.

Q1. In the last month have you…

… had more than one day when you didn't eat at all, or had only one meal, because you couldn't afford to buy enough food?

Yes..... ☐ No..... ☐

…not been able to dress appropriately for the weather because you didn't have suitable shoes or clothes and were unable to buy them?

Yes..... ☐ No..... ☐

…gone without basic toiletries such as soap, shampoo, toothbrush, toothpaste or sanitary items because you couldn't afford to buy them?

Yes..... ☐ No..... ☐

…not been able to afford to heat your home on more than four days across the month?

Yes…….☐ No…….☐ Not relevant to me.….☐

…not been able to afford to light your home on more than four days across the month?

Yes…….☐ No…….☐ Not relevant to me…..☐

… had to sleep rough for at least one night?

Yes.....☐ No.....☐

Q3. Are you receiving or have you applied for Universal Credit payments?

Yes ……..……..☐

No ……..…….. ☐

Don't know ….. ☐

Q10. Are your day-to-day activities limited because of a health problem or disability which has lasted, or is expected to last, at least 12 months? Include problems related to old age.

Yes, limited a lot ……..… .....☐

Yes, limited a little ……..….....☐

No ……..….....☐

Q14. Are you…

Male.....☐

Female.....☐

Other ..... ☐

Q15. How old are you?
Write in ☐☐

Q16. Do you live….

With family ..... ☐

With other people..... ☐

Alone ..... ☐

Q17. How many family members live with you? Please write in

Number of other **adults** (aged 18 and over) living with you ☐

Number of **children** (under 18) living with you ☐

Q18. In what sort of place are you living at the moment? Tick one.

Flat or house of your own, either rented or owned……..……. ☐

A hostel, refuge, B&B, night shelter……..….. ☐

A temporary flat/house arranged by council or support agency……. ☐

Your partner's, parent's or other family/friend's house……. ☐

Sleeping rough ……..……. ☐

Other.....

☐

Q20. In which country were you born? Please write in

Q21. Have you ever applied for asylum in the UK?

Not applicable (I was born in the UK)……. ☐

No…… ☐

Yes…… ☐

Q22. What is your current status?

Awaiting outcome of application..... ☐

Refugee status..... ☐

Leave to remain..... ☐

Application refused ..... ☐

Not sure/cannot say..... ☐

Destitution income thresholds for 2019 study, for application in qualitative interviews

For those interviewees who are NOT destitute on the 'deprivation' criterion, we should work out if they are destitute on the 'income' criterion instead.

To do this deduct their *rent* from their *total income* based on the two questions below.

- **In the last <u>month</u>, what was your <u>total</u> income after paying tax?** Please think of your household income if you live with family and your personal income if you do not live with family. [note actual amount per week or month]
- **Do you have to pay rent out of that? If yes, how much rent do you pay?** [note actual amount per week or month]

If the resulting amount is less than or equal to the threshold for the relevant household type in the Table below then they are destitute on the income criterion.

Household Composition	£ per week	Monthly
One person hhd	70	301
Couple/2 person	105	452
1 adult 1 child	95	409
1 adult 2 child	115	495
2 adult 1 child	125	538
2 adult 2 child	145	624
2 adult 3 child	165	710
2 adult 4 child	185	796
3 adult 1 child	155	667
3 adult 2 child	175	753

We expect very few interviewees to have savings. But if they do answer positively to the question below, check whether the total amount is less than the monthly 'destitution income threshold' for their household type in the above table. If it is less, then their savings do not exclude them from being destitute.

- Do you mind if I ask: **Do you have any money in savings in a bank account?** Do you mind if I ask how much? [note actual amount]

4

APPENDIX I: TEXTS/ EMAILS SENT BEFORE/AFTER INTERVIEW

Text for e-mail/text sent before interview

"Hi I'm X, a researcher from Heriot-Watt University. You might remember that a few months ago you filled in a short questionnaire for our study 'Getting By in the UK' that we're doing for the charity the Joseph Rowntree Foundation? At that time, you said that you would be happy to be re-contacted for an interview – so hoping you are still happy to talk to us? We are giving everyone who participates in an interview £20 to thank them for their time. If it's OK, I'll call you over the next few days at the number you gave us [or ask for number if email only].

Text for e-mail/text sent after interview

"Hi X here, thanks so much for your time earlier today. Was incredibly valuable for us. Please find attached the voucher I mentioned, great if you can confirm that you've got it OK. As I said, all of the information you gave us will be treated completely confidentially and any quotes we use will be entirely anonymous. But if for any reason you do want us to remove your data do just let me know by contacting me at this email address/number and we'll destroy the data straight away. All the best, and thanks again…"

APPENDIX J: CODING OF QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS

ATTRIBUTES

(i.e. characteristics attached to the transcripts as a whole; aligns with classification sheet)

- Gender – M; F; Other
- Age - under 25; 25-45; over 45
- Household type: Single; lone parent; couple with children; couple without children
- Complex needs: y/n
- Migration status: UK national; asylum seeker; EEA migrant; Other migrant
- Access to benefits: y/n
- Disabled: y/n
- Currently destitute: y/n
- Current housing situation: own accommodation; homeless/vulnerably housed
- Universal Credit receipt/claimed: y/n
- In paid work (now/over past year): y/n

CODES

1.	Universal Credit
2.	LHA/HB
3.	Disability/sickness benefits (ESA, DLA, PIP)
4.	Other benefits
5.	Statutory Sick Pay (SSP)
6.	Paid work (gained/lost/reduced hours/pay cut/furloughed/ illness/key worker)
7.	School/nursery closures
8.	Income (sources/change)
9.	Begging/Big Issue
10.	Debt/arrears
11.	Benefit deductions
12.	Benefit conditionality/sanctions/assessments
13.	Sleeping rough/encampment
14.	Shelter/congregate accommodation
15.	Other homeless accommodation/TA
16.	Staying with friends/family
17.	Housing insecurity/eviction
18.	Rent arrears/housing affordability
19.	Housing conditions (general)
20.	Domestic violence/abuse
21.	Staying home/isolating/hygiene
22.	Food
23.	Heating/lighting
24.	Pre-payment meter
25.	Clothes/ shoes
26.	Toiletries
27.	Free school meals/replacement

28.	COVID-related reduced spending
29.	Disability
30.	Ill with COVID/suspected COVID
31.	Physical ill health
32.	Mental ill health
33.	Substance misuse
34.	Prison/offending/police
35.	Hospital/medical appointments
36.	Foodbanks
37.	Access to IT/online/telephone services
38.	Help from family
39.	Help from friends
40.	Help from charities/churches
41.	Help from Local Welfare Assistance Scheme /SWF etc.
42.	Help from social work department/Section 12 etc./other LA help
43.	Help from other organisations (housing association, trade unions, etc.)
44.	COVID impacts (general)
45.	COVID impacts: on children
46.	COVID impacts: access to services/places
47.	COVID impacts: travel
48.	COVID impacts: relationships in household
49.	COVID impacts: wider relationships
50.	Migrants: NRPF
51.	Migrants: Right to work/other barriers to work
52.	Location
53.	NRPF

*There is not a general 'COVID' code as it is intended to run as main theme throughout entire interview, so that all topics are viewed through a 'COVID lens'. But there are a few specific COVID codes too